Campaign

OSPREY
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The First Crusade 1096–99

Conquest of the Holy Land

David Nicolle • Illustrated by Christa Hook

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Series editor Lee Johnson · Consultant editor David G Chandler

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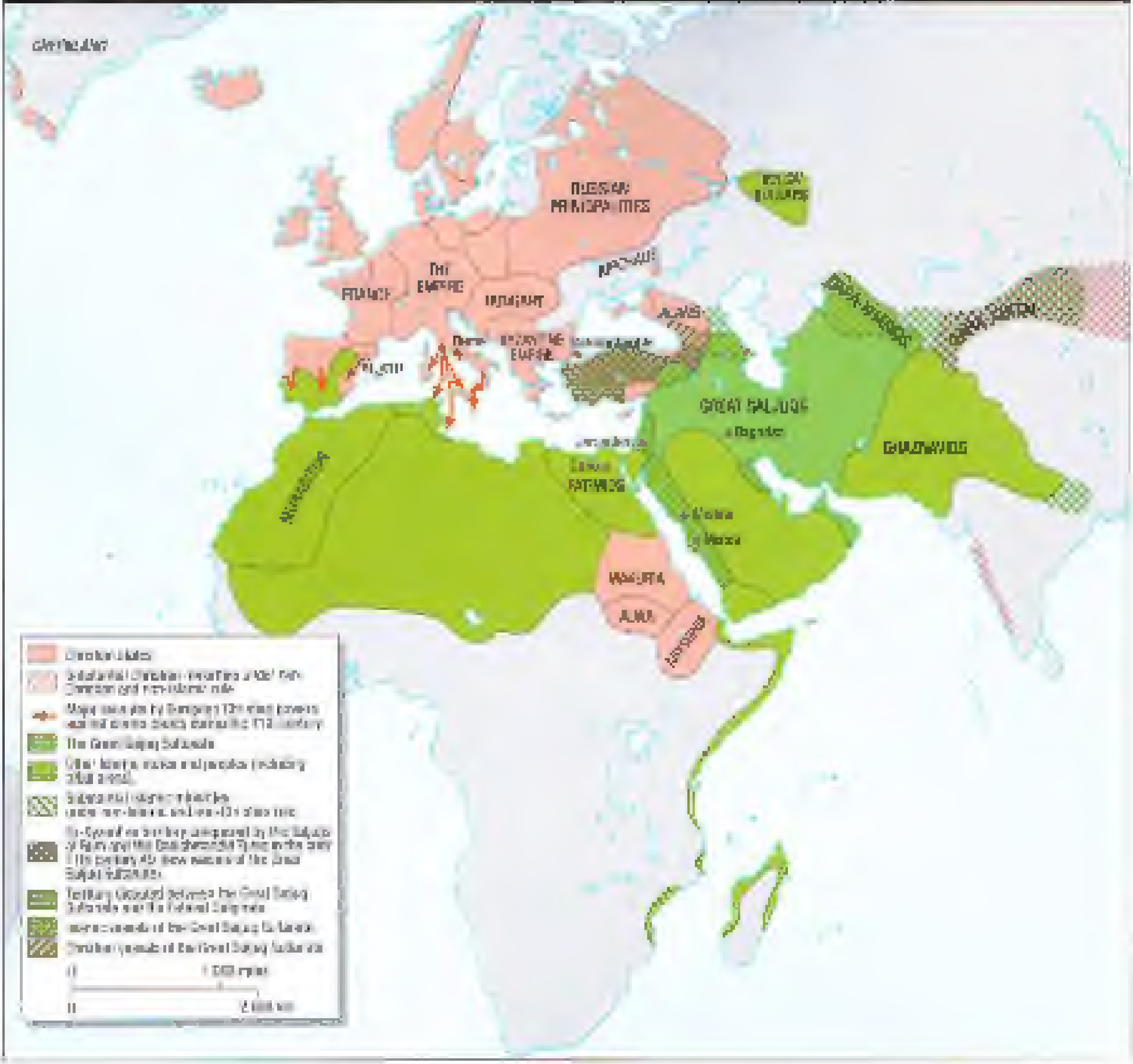

GREENLAND
RUSSIAN PRINCIPALITIES
VOLGA BULGARS
KIPCHAKS
THE EMPIRE
FRANCE
HUNGARY
ALANS
Rome
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Constantinople
GREAT SALJUQS
Baghdad
Jerusalem
Cairo
FATIMIDS
ALMORAVIDS
Medina
Mecca
MAKURIA
ALWA
ETHIOPIA
GHAZNAVIDS
Christian states
Substantial Christian minorities under both Christian and non-Islamic rule
Major conquests by European Christian powers against Muslim states during the 11th century
The Great Saljuq Sultanate
Other Islamic states and peoples (including tribal areas)
Substantial Islamic minorities under non-Islamic and non-Christian rule
Ex-Byzantine territory conquered by the Saljuqs of Rum and the Danishmendid Turks in the later 11th century AD (now vassals of the Great Saljuq Sultanate)
Territory disputed between the Great Saljuq Sultanate and the Fatimid Caliphate
Islamic vassals of the Great Saljuq Sultanate
Christian vassals of the Great Saljuq Sultanate
0
1,000 miles
0
2,000 km

ORIGINS OF THE CAMPAIGN

In 1094 the Byzantine Emperor, Alexios I, came to the conclusion that Byzantium's own military and diplomatic efforts to regain lost territory in Anatolia were inadequate. Alexios decided to ask the Christian states of western Europe for support, which he did the following year. This can be seen as the genesis of what became the First Crusade.

Nevertheless, by 1095 the Byzantine Empire was not in such dire straits as has sometimes been suggested. Successes had been achieved since the Byzantine army's terrible defeat at Manzikert in 1071 and the Byzantine civil wars that followed. It was, in fact, the latter rather than the battle of Manzikert that allowed largely nomadic Turkish or Turcoman tribal peoples to take control of most of Anatolia. After Alexios seized the imperial throne he imposed a unified government on what remained of the Byzantine Empire and took advantage of divisions amongst its most threatening enemies to halt their advances, if not necessarily to defeat them. Byzantine rule was re-established in much of the Balkans while a potentially lethal alliance between the pagan Pecheneg Turks of south-eastern Europe and the Islamic Turkish *amir*, Çaka, was broken in 1091. Çaka had controlled Smyrna (Izmir) but was soon killed by another and more significant Turkish leader – Qilich Arslan I, ruler of the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum ('Rome' or ex-Byzantine Anatolia).

Byzantine efforts to reconquer Anatolia began the following year with a naval expedition under John Doukas to regain Aegean islands that had fallen to Çaka. Other campaigns removed rebel Byzantine

The Christian Monastery of Mar Matti (St Matthew) in northern Iraq, photographed in the early 1930s. (Photograph Flt Sharpe; St. Andrews University Library)

The late 11th-century 'Saljuq hall' on the west side of the northern arcade of the Juma'a or Congregational Mosque in Isfahan, Iran. (Author's photograph)

governors in Crete and Cyprus. Clearly the threat to Byzantium's age-old domination of the eastern seas was regarded as particularly dangerous. Relatively small-scale land and naval operations to regain part of the Anatolian mainland facing the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea were already under way and had achieved some local success when the First Crusade appeared on the scene.

Interestingly, several Islamic chroniclers saw 487AH (AD1094/95)[1] as a doom-laden year, including the later Mamluk historian Ibn Taghribirdi, who wrote: 'This year is called the year of the deaths of Caliphs and Commanders.' Those who died included the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir of Egypt, his Grand Vizier Badr al-Jamali, and the rival 'Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadi in Iraq. The Great Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah and his Grand Vizier Nizam al-Mulk had already died in 1092. These deaths were followed by a period of confusion and near anarchy within the Islamic world. Rampant sectarianism divided Sunni Muslims from Shi'a Muslims and even amongst the Shi'a sects there were bitter rivalries. Furthermore the death of the Shi'a Fatimid, or Isma'ili, Caliph al-Mustansir was followed by a schism between supporters of his sons. The eldest, Nizar, was passed over as Caliph in favour of the younger, al-Musta'li. Nizar rebelled but was killed, after which his supporters formed the breakaway Nizari movement which, though still Isma'ili, became the so-called 'Assassins' of Iran and Syria. Although Islamic sectarian arguments might have seemed irrelevant to the Crusaders and even to the sophisticated Byzantines, they contributed further to the fragmentation and the weakened state of the Islamic Middle East when the First Crusade burst upon the scene in 1096.

The First Crusade is one of those dramatic episodes where historians cannot agree on 'causes'. All historical events are, of course, part of a chain and a historian's choice of 'background events' generally reflects his own culture or sympathies. Some might claim that the First Crusade was 'caused' by the rise of Islam and its conquest of Palestine, the Christian Holy Land, in the 7th century AD. Others focus on a sequence of events beginning with the Byzantine Empire's reconquest of eastern Anatolia and northern Syria in the 10th century, regions that had been substantially Islamic for 300 years. The Byzantine Emperor's imposition of military control upon Armenia in eastern Anatolia in the mid-11th century, demilitarising the independent Armenian military aristocracy, unwittingly weakened the Empire's eastern frontier and permitted the Turkish breakthrough only a few decades later. Another significant event was the Saljuq Turkish conquest of most of the eastern and central parts of the Islamic world in the 11th century. This broke Shi'a political power in these regions and led to a revival of Sunni Islam, which was, eventually, a major factor in defeating the Crusading phenomenon. It also brought predatory and only superficially Islamic Turcoman tribes up to the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire.

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[1] Islamic or *Hijri* years are indicated by the abbreviation AH. Being based on the lunar rather than solar cycle they were only 354 days long (a *Kabisa* or Islamic Leap Year being 355 days). Thus each *Hijri* year began on a different day of the Christian calendar. The *Hijri* year 487, a *Kabisa* year, began on 21 January AD1094, and ended on 10 January AD1095.

A typical single-masted Mediterranean merchant ship as illustrated in a very stylised manner on an enamelled bronze door of the 12th-century Pala d'Oro. (In situ Cathedral of San Marco, Venice)

Following the Byzantine conquest, eastern and southeastern Anatolia became a militarised zone dominated by Byzantine garrisons. These garrisons included many soldiers from western and northern Europe, plus local Armenians, both Christian and followers of non-Christian, non-Islamic religions. Semitic Christians belonging to churches that both Greek and Catholic Europeans regarded as heretical were also represented.

The Byzantine annexation of Armenia had major military repercussions on both sides of the religious frontier. The Armenian state ruled by King Gagik II was placed under the Byzantine *Dux* or military governor of Iberia, which itself consisted of territory taken from independent Georgia. The heavy taxation imposed to pay for the Byzantine army and the consequent downgrading of the local Armenian feudal elite combined with religious differences between Byzantine Greeks and Armenians to create tension. Part of the Armenian military elite migrated north or west to independent Georgia or Byzantine Cappadocia respectively, while others crossed into Islamic territory.

Meanwhile epic changes were taking place in the neighbouring Islamic world with the arrival of the Saljuqs. They were a family or clan within a Turkish people called the Oghuz or Ghuzz. Their tradition of rule or authority was based upon power being shared within the family rather than being vested in one senior member. This system would, to some extent, be continued within the Great Saljuq Sultanate that they established in Iran, Iraq, Syria and some neighbouring areas. Although regarded by those Turks already living in the Islamic world as near barbarians, the Saljuqs' recent ancestors formed part of the vast Turkish people of Central Asia and had plenty of experience of building and running huge states. As the Saljuqs took over Iran they became very 'Persian' in culture and outlook and adopted a mystical, almost 'folk' form of Islam subtly different from the book-learned Islam characteristic of the Arab Middle East.

A Turcoman nomad encampment near Nigde in south-central Turkey. (Author's photograph)

The Saljuqs found the frontier with Byzantium poorly defended and many Turcoman and other raiders were able to operate deep inside Anatolia several years before the battle of Manzikert. Some were fighting as *ghazis*, or religiously motivated volunteers, seeking to regain territory lost to the Byzantines a century earlier, while others were simply freebooters. A major assault upon the seemingly powerful Byzantine Empire was not Saljuq policy and it was the Byzantine Emperor Romanos IV who initiated the major anti-Saljuq campaign that resulted in his own, and the Empire's, catastrophic defeat by the Great Saljuq Sultan Alp Arslan at Manzikert in 1071.

What followed was a gradual collapse of Byzantine authority across Anatolia, where many isolated Byzantine garrisons clung to fortified strongpoints while losing control of the countryside. It was neither a wholesale Turkish conquest nor a complete Byzantine withdrawal. Paradoxically the Turks were often invited to take over a city or area by claimants to the Byzantine throne in return for their military support. Alexios I himself had summoned Qilich Arslan's father, Sulayman, to Nicaea (Iznik).

The Great Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah took Qilich Arslan as a princely hostage after Sulayman's death. When Qilich Arslan was released and returned to Anatolia to re-assert Saljuq authority, he had great difficulty in doing so because other Turkish powers had arisen in the area, the most formidable being the Danishmandids.

From the 1070s to the appearance of the First Crusade, several Armenian leaders established ephemeral principalities in south-central Anatolia and along the northern fringes of Syria. Elsewhere parts of the old Armenian military elite, along with the descendants of Greek and western-European soldiers in Byzantine service, had accepted Turkish rule, adopting aspects of Turkish culture and language with many actually converting to Islam. Like the Christian Armenians they remained a distinct group and a significant military factor.

Soldiers in stylised archaic armour hunting on an 11th-century Byzantine ivory box. (Photograph Didier Vogel; Trésor de la Cathédrale, Troyes)

By the late 1090s the Great Saljuq state seemed to be in decline while local princes or governors fought amongst themselves. The death of the Great Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah in 1092 led the Fatimid Caliphate to attempt to regain Syria, and the decline in central Saljuq authority encouraged revolts amongst some previously dominant Arab tribes. This Fatimid effort failed and the Arabs were largely subdued but the entire region remained volatile. It is also important to note that Arab Christians of various sects remained a majority in several parts of the Middle East and formed substantial minorities elsewhere. There were large Jewish urban communities throughout the area and they played a significant political as well as cultural role under numerous Islamic rulers. In addition there were other notable religious communities whose beliefs were not Muslim, Christian or Jewish.

The idea that the Fatimid Caliphate based in Egypt was now in terminal decline is also misleading. The 10th century had seen the Fatimid high-water mark and much of the 11th had seen serious setbacks in Syria as well as famine and chaos within Egypt. This changed when Badr al-Jamali, a Fatimid general of Armenian origin who had converted to Islam, was invited to become Grand Vizier. Being Fatimid governor in Palestine at the time, he led his largely Armenian army to Cairo in 1074, restored order and thereafter ruled the state as a military dictator while the Caliph was little more than a puppet.

Badr al-Jamali was seemingly welcomed by the Coptic Church in Egypt and in return took a close interest in its affairs. He strengthened the long-established relationship between Fatimid Egypt and its African Christian neighbours in Nubia, Sudan and Ethiopia. Badr al-Jamali also retained strong links with his own Christian background and recruited large numbers of Christian Armenian soldiers. The other large element in the Fatimid army consisted of black Africans recruited as slaves through Christian Nubia or as mercenaries from Nubia and Sudan. Paradoxically it may thus have been true that a substantial part of the Fatimid army that faced the First Crusade was either Christian or had Christian origins. Badr al-Jamali's son, al-Afdal, succeeded him as Fatimid Grand Vizier, but unfortunately misread the motives of the First Crusade and suffered defeat in 1099.

CHRONOLOGY

1071

The Great Saljuq Sultan Alp Arslan defeats the Byzantine Emperor Romanos IV at the battle of Manzikert.

1074

Badr al-Jamali becomes Chief Wazir (Grand Vizier) and effectively military dictator of the Fatimid Caliphate.

1081

Alexios Komnenos becomes emperor of Byzantium.

1092

Death of the Great Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah; civil war between his sons Mahmud and Berk Yaruq.

1093

Rebellion against the Great Saljuq overlordship by Tutush Ibn Alp Arslan, Saljuq ruler of Syria.

1094

Berk Yaruq Ibn Malik Shah becomes Great Saljuq Sultan (recognised as sole Sultan from December 1095); death of 'Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadi in Baghdad, succeeded by al-Mustazhir; death of Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir in Cairo, succeeded by child Caliph al-Musta'li; death of Fatimid Grand Vizier Badr al-Jamali, succeeded by his son al-Afdal.

1095

Kur Bugha made governor of Mosul; Ridwan and Duqaq, the sons of Tutush, the late Saljuq ruler of Syria, seize Aleppo and Damascus respectively.
March: Council of Piacenza, Byzantine Emperor appeals to the West for help; Tutush of Syria defeated and killed by Sultan Berk Yaruq.
July (to Sept 1096): Pope Urban II journeys through France.
November: Council of Clermont, Pope Urban II preaches the Crusade for first time on 27 November.
December (to July 1096): Persecution of European Jews by Crusaders.

1096

Civil war between Ridwan of Aleppo and Duqaq of Damascus. Ridwan takes Ma'arat al-Nu'man from Yaghi Siyan of Antioch.
March: Departure of first wave of First Crusaders.
June (to August): First three waves of Crusader 'armies' break up and dispersed in Hungary.
July: Crusade led by Walter-without-worldly-goods arrives in Constantinople (Istanbul).
1 August: Crusade led by Peter the Hermit arrives in Constantinople (Istanbul).
1 October: Peter the Hermit's Crusade defeated in Anatolia by Turkish Saljuqs of Rum.
23 December: Crusader force commanded by Godfrey of Bouillon arrives in Constantinople (Istanbul).

1097

Continuing civil wars between Saljuq rulers in Syria.
10 April: Godfrey of Bouillon swears fealty to Emperor Alexios and crosses to Anatolia.
14 May: Crusaders attack Saljuq of Rum capital of Nicaea (Iznik).
16 May: Crusaders drive off Saljuq attempt to relieve Nicaea.
19 June: Nicaea surrenders to Byzantine forces.
26–28 June: Crusader forces leave Nicaea.
1 July: Combined Turkish army of Saljuqs of Rum and Danishmandids defeated at so-called battle of Dorylaeum.
15 July: Genoese fleet departs for the eastern Mediterranean.
15 August: Crusaders take Iconium (Konya).
19 August: Anglo-Saxon fleet in Byzantine service seizes Latakia, probably from Banu 'Ammar of Tripoli.
27 September: Crusaders take Caesarea Mazacha (Kayseri).
13 October: Crusaders take Marash (Kahramanmaras).
21 October: Crusaders reach Antioch (Antakya) and begin siege.
Late October: Fleet of Guynemer of Boulogne takes the port of Latakia from Byzantine (Anglo-Saxon) garrison.
31 December: Crusaders defeat Saljuq force under Duqaq of Damascus at al-Bara.
Late 1097–early spring 1098: Byzantine army under John Ducas and Byzantine fleet under Admiral Caspax retake western Anatolia plus Lesvos, Chios and Samos. Byzantine army under Emperor Alexios advances to Philomelium (Aksehir).

Relief carving probably showing an Old Testament Patriarch dressed as a traveller or pilgrim, early 12th century. (In situ Cathedral, Autun; author's photograph)

1098

Early February: Byzantine general Tatikios withdraws his men from the siege of Antioch and rejoins Emperor Alexius at Philomelium.

9 February: Crusaders defeat Saljuq army under Ridwan of Aleppo at the Lake of Antioch.

March: English fleet consisting of Anglo-Saxon exiles in Byzantine service reaches port of Saint Symeon (Suwaydiyah).

10 March: Baldwin of Boulogne takes [illegible] Edessa (Urfa).

3 June: Crusaders take most of Antioch (Antakya) but not the citadel.

14 June: Crusaders 'discover' supposed Holy Lance in Antioch.

28 June: Crusaders defeat Muslim relief army under Kür Bugha of Mosul.

July: Informed of the Crusaders' defeat by Kür Bugha, Emperor Alexius abandons his plan to march in their support and returns to Constantinople. Fatimid army retakes Jerusalem from Artuqid Turkish governor Sokman ibn Artuk.

11 December: Crusaders capture Ma'arat al-Nu'man and massacre its population.

1099

13 January: Raymond of Toulouse restarts the Crusader march south.

16 January: Raymond of Toulouse passes Shayzar without attacking.

28 January: Raymond of Toulouse seizes Hisn al-Akrad.

14 February–13 May: Raymond of Toulouse unsuccessfully besieges Arqa.

17 February: Crusaders seize Antartus (Tartus).

16 May: Crusaders [illegible] Tripoli (Trablus al-Sham) [illegible].

26–29 May: Crusaders pass [illegible] Fatimid garrisons.

1 June: Crusaders occupy Arsuf and march towards Ramla and the Fatimid garrison abandons and destroys the [illegible] Jaffa.

2–6 June: Crusaders occupy Ramla and reorganise for the march against Jerusalem.

6–7 June: Crusader force under Baldwin of Bourg and Tancred seizes Bethlehem.

7 June: Crusaders reach Jerusalem and begin siege.

16 June: Small squadron of six Genoese ships enters Jaffa; [illegible] all except one are trapped by a larger Fatimid squadron.

15 July: Crusaders conquer Jerusalem from the Fatimid garrison.

22 July: Crusaders elect Godfrey of Bouillon as the ruler of Jerusalem.

9–11 August: Crusader army marches from Jerusalem against the Fatimid [illegible] Ascalon.

12 August: Crusaders defeat Fatimid army [illegible] outside Ascalon.

OPPOSING COMMANDERS

One of the earliest mihrabs or indicators for the direction of prayer in the university mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo, late 10th century. (Author's photograph)

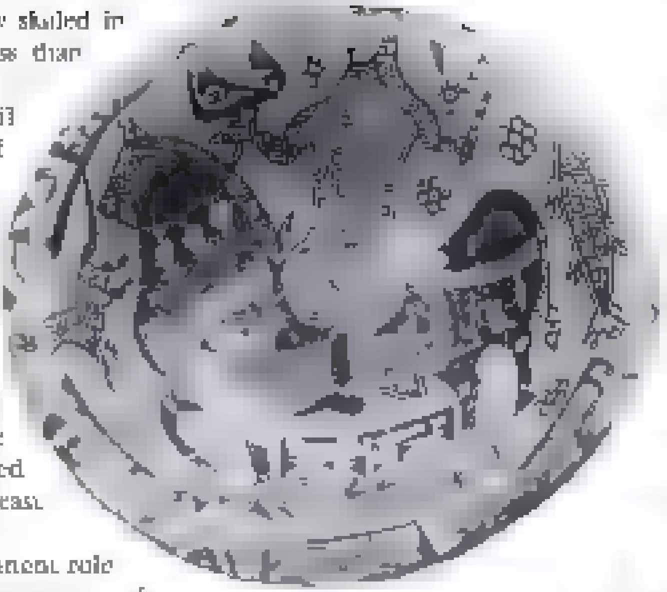
The First Crusade had no overall command. Nor did the Crusaders' Byzantine [illegible] had a unified command under the Emperor.

CRUSADER LEADERS

The First Crusade was a [illegible] of several contingents, each of which had its own leader. Nevertheless [illegible] figures emerged as more [illegible] than others. [illegible] **Bohemond of Taranto** was perhaps the most effective military commander. A son of Robert Guiscard, the famous Norman conqueror of [illegible] Bohemond was born in the 1050s and was originally [illegible] Mark. The name [illegible] was that of a legendary giant and [illegible] young Mark was physically large and strong. He was a great warrior [illegible] a devious politician [illegible]. Bohemond was still a teenager when he became a leader in his father's mercenary army. Realising that [illegible] would [illegible] his progress in favour of [illegible] Robert Borsa, Bohemond turned his attention to [illegible] several clashes with the new Byzantine Emperor Alexios I.

In fact the preaching of the First Crusade came at a good time for Bohemond of Taranto as [illegible] opportunities [illegible] the army that he took on Crusade was small [illegible] military impact. Immediately after the [illegible] First Crusade during which he won [illegible] of Antioch, Bohemond [illegible] more. After a prolonged [illegible] was [illegible] leaving his nephew Tancred as regent in Antioch. Bohemond [illegible] Italy where he [illegible] with the Byzantine Emperor Alexios. [illegible] Alexios recognising Bohemond as Prince of Antioch [illegible] accepted Alexios as his overlord. Bohemond [illegible] Italy in March [illegible] and was buried next to the Cathedral of Canosa.

Raymond of Saint-Gilles came from one of the oldest families in France. He was Count of Toulouse, Marquis of Provence, Duke of Narbonne and Count of Saint-Gilles which was his main source of wealth. Nevertheless [illegible] as the Count of Tripoli in Lebanon. Why Raymond [illegible] is something of a mystery. He was not in danger of losing his position in southern France where he was one of the richest lords and [illegible]. Yet it is clear that he never intended coming back, [illegible] taking his wife with him and leaving [illegible] Toulouse. Unlike some other leaders of the First Crusade, Raymond of Saint-Gilles was inspired by religious motives. His army was large, well equipped and especially skilled in siege warfare, yet its military impact was less than expected.



A ceramic bowl from Nishapur in Iran, showing a horseman with an axe and wearing full armour including a mail coif, 10th–11th century. (Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran; author's photograph)

Godfrey of Bouillon was born around 1063, the second son of Count Eustache II of Boulogne. His mother was the daughter of Duke Godfrey II of Lower Lorraine, but in 1076 the German Emperor refused to allow Godfrey of Bouillon to inherit his grandfather's Duchy, though he did become Duke in 1089. Continuing tensions with the German Emperor Henry meant that Godfrey of Bouillon might have been in danger of losing the Duchy at the time the First Crusade was preached. He thereupon sold or mortgaged most of his property before setting out for the east, probably not intending to return.

Godfrey did not play a particularly prominent role until the siege of Jerusalem, where his contingent was the first to break in. Godfrey of Bouillon was then selected as a compromise ruler of the newly conquered Holy City. He refused the title of king in the place where Christ had worn a Crown of Thorns, accepting instead the title of Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre. Godfrey died in July 1100, being succeeded by his younger brother Baldwin. Within a few years Godfrey of Bouillon's deeds became the stuff of legend, particularly in the epic 'Crusade Cycle' written in the 12th century.

Count Robert of Flanders was extremely rich and seems to have had no secular ambitions in the east. He apparently went on Crusade for religious reasons and always intended to return home. **Count Robert of Normandy** similarly clearly planned to return home. He was the eldest son of Duke William of Normandy, King William the Conqueror of England, and had twice been designated heir to his father's domains but each time lost his prospects by rebellion. Robert did, however, become Duke of Normandy when William the Conqueror died in 1087. He had, however, been beaten by his brother William II as King of England. By the time Robert of Normandy returned from the east, his younger brother had succeeded as King Henry I of England. Robert made a rather incompetent attempt to gain the throne, but instead lost Normandy to Henry and died as a prisoner in Cardiff castle in 1134.

Baldwin of Boulogne was a more successful character. Joining the Crusade with his brothers Godfrey of Bouillon and Eustace III of Boulogne, he was at first a minor figure with a minimal power-base. Presumably for this reason Baldwin of Boulogne sought an opportunity to start carving out a state for himself as soon as the Crusade reached Syria. Thus he became the Count of Edessa. When Godfrey of Bouillon died, Baldwin succeeded his brother and was crowned king of Jerusalem.

Count Stephen of Blois was one of the richest leaders of the First Crusade. His motives seem to have been largely religious, though Stephen was also bullied into going by his domineering wife Adela, a daughter of William the Conqueror. He had no intention of staying in the east and actually came home before the conquest of Jerusalem, whereupon he was made to go again to complete his pilgrimage vow.

Ruins of the Old Mosque at Salamiya in Syria, which was built in AD1088. It contains the tomb of one of the 'hidden imams' of the Isma'ili Islamic sect. A 'hidden imam' is believed to have been one of the hereditary spiritual leaders of the Isma'ili movement who, because he lived in a time of persecution, never made himself public. The first Fatimid Caliph, 'Ubaid Allah, was also born in Salamiya in the late 9th century AD. (Author's photograph)

Of those men who rose to prominence during the First Crusade, the most impressive was probably **Tancred**. His father was a Norman [illegible] the Great Marquis [illegible] and his mother was a daughter of Robert Guiscard. [illegible] probably [illegible] Greek and Arabic. His uncle Bohemond [illegible] and he [illegible] joined the Crusade in 1096 [illegible] accompanied [illegible] army. [illegible] while Bohemond [illegible] at Antioch [illegible] being overshadowed by [illegible] prosper[illegible] Prince of Galilee [illegible] regent [illegible] showing [illegible] and strong [illegible] his Muslim and Christian neighbours. He died in 1112.

BYZANTINE LEADERS

Emperor Alexios Komnenos I reigned from April 1081 until his death in August 1118. The son of John Komnenos, he began his career as a general under the Emperors Michael VII and Nikephoros III. Alexios and his brother revolted against Nikephoros and in February 1081 took the imperial capital, Constantinople. Alexios came to the throne with the support of the Byzantine military aristocracy. As formidable [illegible] he also [illegible] a powerful [illegible] family, the Doukas. His successes were [illegible] Alexios [illegible] to reshape the entire ruling class of Byzantium with as [illegible] power [illegible] as possible. Through [illegible] Alexios also [illegible] government affairs.

Tatikios, who accompanied the First Crusade to Antioch, had an interesting background and a remarkable career. Born around [illegible] his father was described as a Saracen captured by John Komnenos, the father of Emperor Alexios. Tatikios is generally regarded as the first Turk to achieve high command in the Byzantine army. Earlier sources state that [illegible] the Byzantine Empire. Though first mentioned merely as a servant, Tatikios was raised to the rank of Great Primikerios [illegible] Alexios [illegible] campaign against Norman invaders in the Balkans, he commanded Turks living around Ochrida. Between 1086 and 1095 he fought against Pecheneg Turks in the Balkans and Saljuq Turks in Anatolia, being praised for skill, foresight and competence in commanding Turkish and western European mercenary troops. In his role as commander of the Byzantine contingent that accompanied the crusaders across Anatolia, he served as Alexios' representative and received the surrender of various towns in the Emperor's name.

The Tomb of Bohemond of Taranto next to the Cathedral in Canosa di Puglia, southern Italy. (Author's photograph)

MUSLIM LEADERS

Qilich Arslan I, son of Sulaiman ibn Qutlumush, was the second Saljuq ruler in Anatolia. He was in Antioch when his father was killed fighting against Tutush of Syria and was then handed over to the Great Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah. Following the latter's death in 1092 Qilich Arslan escaped and returned to Nicaea in Anatolia where he was accepted as sovereign by the Turcomans fighting the Byzantines. He was, however, more interested in achieving good relations with Saljuq rulers in the east than in attacking Byzantium.

Although Qilich Arslan defeated the Peasants' Crusade he was himself defeated by the efforts of the First Crusade. Forced to abandon Nicaea, Qilich Arslan established a longer-lasting capital in Konya. He is in fact credited with establishing the flourishing Saljuq Sultanate of Rum, which endured into the early 14th century. Qilich Arslan was respected by Christian and Muslim subjects because of his tolerance and his reviving of the shattered Anatolian economy. He was killed in battle in 1107.

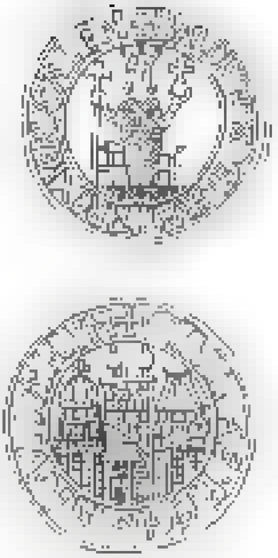
Yaghi Siyan, the ruler of a small state around Antioch, was the only early Saljuq governor still in place when the First Crusade arrived, having been appointed around 1090. Yaghi Siyan's territory was extended, probably by Tutush of Syria, to include Manbij and Tal Bashir, but he was frequently hostile to Ridwan, the son of Tutush who took control of Aleppo in 1095. This hostility had a profound impact on the First Crusade.

The eastern or Asiatic shore of the Bosporus, seen from Istanbul on the European side. By the time the First Crusade arrived, the Byzantine army had regained this shore and some territory beyond. (Author's photograph)

Ridwan Ibn Tutush of Aleppo is generally portrayed in a negative light by Arab chroniclers as being [illegible] of the divisions that made the Crusader conquest easier. Most of these chroniclers were Sunni Muslims so Ridwan's [illegible] Shi'a in Syria and with the Fatimid Caliphate was similarly [illegible]. Ridwan also managed to make enemies of practically all his neighbours, including his father-in-law and atabeg Janah al-Dawla [illegible] as well as his brother Duqaq of Damascus. Under such circumstances it is hardly surprising that Ridwan looked for allies wherever he could find them, including the Shi'a. Nevertheless he retained power until his death in 1113.

Kür-Bugha was a powerful Saljuq emir who supported Berk Yaruq in the struggle between Malik Shah's sons. He was captured and imprisoned in Syria, but when Berk Yaruq was victorious Kür-Bugha was released and appointed governor of Mosul in 1095. He remained governor of this important city, representing the Great Saljuq Sultan's interests in the fragmented western part of the empire. However, Kür-Bugha's power was resented by several other Saljuq governors and emirs and after his defeat by the Crusaders outside Antioch his prestige declined. Kür-Bugha's death in 1102 led to further disruption and a civil war in northern Iraq.

The revival seen in the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt started under the [illegible] military rule of the Muslim-Armenian [illegible] vizier Badr al-Jamali [illegible] continued under his less illustrious son, the **Grand Vizier al-Afdal Ibn Badr al-Jamali**. Born around 1066, his original name was Abu'l-Qasim Shahanshah. Better known as al-Afdal, he took over as vizier during his father's final illness in [illegible] and as the biographer Ibn Khallikan put it



The front and back of a coin struck in the name of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem. As Baldwin of Boulogne and then as Count of Edessa, Baldwin had been one of the more minor leaders of the First Crusade.

A fragment of 11th- or early 12th-century painted paper from the ruins of Fustat on the outskirts of Cairo, showing a turbaned soldier with a shield and two javelins. (Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo; author's photograph) was an able ruler possessing a superior judgement. When the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir died in [illegible] al-Afdal [illegible] confined the new Caliph al-Musta'li in his palace while he himself governed the Fatimid state. al-Musta'li died [illegible] and was succeeded by a child, [illegible] but when the latter grew up he had the overmighty al-Afdal assassinated in [illegible]. This ended 27 years of internal peace and only [illegible] conflict with the newly established Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem. Al-Afdal's financial reforms greatly increased the wealth of the Fatimid state but at the same time the Grand Vizier accumulated vast wealth for himself.

Little is known about **Iftikhar al-Dawla**, the commander of the Fatimid garrison of Jerusalem at the time of the Crusader assault. He was mentioned as governor of Ascalon immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, suggesting that he had been governor of all Fatimid Palestine in 1099. It is also possible that Iftikhar had been one of the [illegible] slave-recruited soldiers of the [illegible] Grand Vizier Badr al-Jamali. According to the Syriac Chronicler Bar Hebraeus, the Fatimid governor of Jerusalem was [illegible] of the Egyptians whose name was Iftikhar al-Dawla. This [illegible] that he was [illegible] Sudanese origin [illegible] Arab or Turkish [illegible] as [illegible] Iftikhar al-Dawla is also unlikely to have been a Berber since such men were usually called Arabs in sources like Bar Hebraeus.

The name Iftikhar al-Dawla is [illegible] Shi'a rather than Sunni Islam. A man [illegible] of the right age is mentioned by Usama ibn Munqidh in his autobiography. Usama was brought up in Shaizar, overlooking the river Orontes in western Syria. He refers to an elderly [illegible] officer, perhaps [illegible] named Iftikhar al-Dawla Abu'l-Futuh ibn Amr [illegible] was [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] Qur[illegible] whose sister was also married to Usama's uncle, the ruler of Shaizar.

The Byzantine Emperor Alexios I, as portrayed on an early 12th-century mosaic. (In situ, Aya Sofia, Istanbul)

OPPOSING FORCES

THE CRUSADERS

According to the [illegible], the Fatimid Grand Vizier al-Afdal described the approaching crusaders as 'a force of beggars, unarmed and poverty-stricken, who have nothing but a dog and a scrip.' This reflects the crusaders' self-image as a force of poor pilgrims. The Pope had, however, emphasised the need for material preparation and the crusaders' responsibility to ensure that their dependants were properly cared for. The participants grouped themselves around the most senior lords present, though most of these leaders were moderately prosperous.

Many nationalities were represented in the First Crusade, though the participants seemed content to be described as Franks – even those who were not French. Perhaps this term also reflected a sense of pan-western Christian solidarity. One major group was the Provençals from southern France and there is strong evidence that these southerners felt themselves to be different from the northern French and Normans. The so-called Normans of southern Italy included men of Italian and Norman origin, plus Bretons, Flemings, Poitevins and a few Angevins. The number of real Italians was very small within the land contingents, though Italians played a dominant role in naval forces. A [illegible] element in Godfrey of Bouillon's contingent was again greatly outnumbered by Flemings and men from French-speaking Artois.

When the Pope preached the Crusade he called for knights and foot soldiers, and there were clearly more infantry than cavalry even at the

The ruined medieval walls of Malatya in east-central Turkey. (Author's photograph)

The fortified brick walls and one of the Byzantine gates of Nicaea (Iznik). (Frederick Nicolle photograph)

start of the First Crusade. Many were prosperous peasants who could pay their own way and had proper military equipment. Even so properly equipped fighting men were probably in a minority on the First Crusade, many not being armed at all. Non-combatants included clerics and monks who had been given permission to go on crusade, while some women also accompanied their husbands, [illegible] the presence of large numbers of women and children also caused problems and many died on the way. The lowest modern estimate for the size of the First Crusade when it assembled at Constantinople is 30,000 people.

The composition of the forces that marched east as the First Crusade may have been unlike normal western European armies but its organisation was similar, with members of the aristocracy assuming military and diplomatic leadership. This was accepted even by those of urban backgrounds since, with a few exceptions in Italy, the cities of western Europe still operated within a generally feudal structure, sometimes only theoretically. [illegible] Others, after taking Crusading vows, placed themselves in the service of a recognised leader. [illegible] ordinary knights of the period grouped themselves around one of their own number, for example the so-called Tafurs. Others, especially infantry, may have banded together in national groups reflecting their place of origin.

Although the official First Crusade was not marked by much greater discipline than the so-called Peasants' Crusade, it was still more of a host than an army, being characterised by a [illegible] command and a very loose structure. Many people, especially among the poorer followers, were apparently without effective leaders. The strongest military elements of this Crusading host were organised around lords and their households, and most of the mounted men may actually have been dependants of these. The strong bonds of companionship seen between men of the knightly elite have sometimes been interpreted as latently, if not actually, homosexual in

[illegible] corps, since the ideals of elite comradeship were fundamental to the knightly warrior's social structure and general ethos as well as methods of combat.

The Italians played a significant role by providing the naval support without which the First Crusade would probably not have succeeded. Amalfi had been the first Italian state to emerge as a significant naval power but it rarely took part in offensive operations against Islamic shipping or coasts, whereas Venice was more concerned with the Byzantine Empire. By contrast Pisa and Genoa had already being carrying out an unofficial naval Crusade against the Islamic states for decades.

THE BYZANTINES

The loss of most of Anatolia deprived the Byzantine Empire of a major source of military manpower. As a result, at the end of the 11th century foreign troops may have outnumbered domestic recruits. The latter, however, included refugees from the lost eastern provinces, the sons of fallen men, and recruits from those regions still held by the Byzantines. Those who did not speak Greek included Bulgars and Serbs from the Balkans, but Turkish elements were becoming increasingly important. They included survivors of the defeated Pechenegs of the Balkans, Turks from north-western Anatolia who had been turned by the Emperor Alexios, converting to Christianity as part of their change of allegiance. The *Rhos* who served in Byzantine armies were descendants of the Scandinavian aristocracy that dominated a large part of Russia.

A variety of European recruits were mercenaries during this period. Large numbers of such western troops had garrisoned the eastern frontier before the late 11th-century collapse, many subsequently remaining there. Later recruits included French, [illegible], Saxons from Germany, Pisans and Ligurians, as well as Frisians, Flemings, Hungarians, and Anglo-Saxon refugees from the Norman Conquest of England. Normans were themselves found in the late 11th-century Byzantine army. Most were from the newly established Norman kingdom of southern Italy.

Here it is worth noting that at the start of Alexios' reign the Byzantine army was desperately short of cavalry horses, so the new Emperor brought in horses from Islamic Syria, probably from the Fatimid-ruled coastal region. This is further evidence of a close and generally friendly relationship between the Fatimid caliphate and the Byzantine Empire, both of which were threatened by the Saljuq Turks.

The Byzantine armies of the late 11th and 12th centuries consisted of two main forces, one in the European and one in the Asian provinces, under the overall command of the Grand Domestic. Infantry and cavalry were still divided into light and heavy regiments, these largely organised according to ethnic origin. The army was further divided into central and provincial forces. Another senior officer called the *ethnarch* commanded foreign troops, probably meaning those not fully integrated into the Byzantine military structure. However, Byzantine provincial forces never recovered from the disasters of the late 11th century.

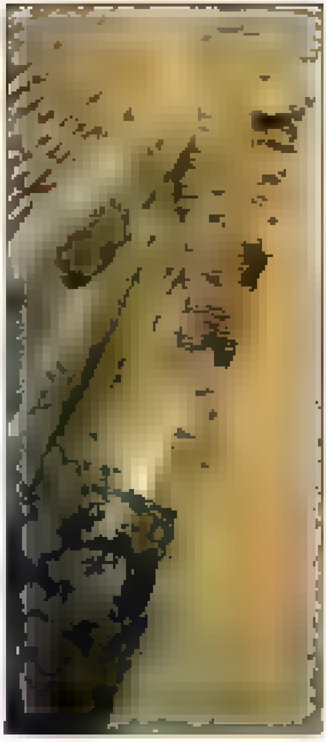
The lost stained-glass windows in the Church of St. Denis, Paris, dating from the mid-12th century though now known only from these 18th-century engravings. A: The Turks defeated outside Nicaea. B: The Crusaders capture Nicaea.

THE ARMENIANS

After the Byzantine disaster at Manzikert in 1071 the Armenians had to look after themselves and several cities established local militias. For many years a senior ex-Byzantine officer named Philaretus also resisted the Saljuqs in the mountains north of Antioch. His army largely consisted of Armenians plus an elite of ex-Byzantine Norman mercenaries. At the same time there was a massive migration by the Armenian military elite from eastern Anatolia into the mountains bordering Cilicia. This became the heartland of a new Cilician Armenian kingdom, the most effective part of whose army consisted of light cavalry and infantry archers. However, the less significant 11th-century Armenian migrations involved urban elites. Such men dominated Edessa [illegible] before the arrival of the First Crusade, by which time the city was highly militarised and possessed an effective local militia.

Other Armenian families migrated into Islamic areas where they fought for both Turkish and Arab rulers, just as some Turks converted to Christianity and fought for Byzantium. [illegible] Armenians [illegible] Muslims. According to the crusader chronicler Raymond of Aguilers, many Armenians and Greeks had [illegible] the Turks and helped defend Antioch. Other Armenians supported Yaghi Siyan [illegible] abandoning Christianity.

Apart from Christians and Muslims, the Armenians included other more obscure religious [illegible] the Arewordik or 'Children of the Sun'. [illegible] pre-Christian Armenian religion [illegible] similar to Iranian Zoroastrianism.



The interior of the Istanbul Gate of Iznik. (Frederick Nicolle photograph)

THE TURKS

Even before the arrival of the Saljuqs, some renegade Turkish ghulams had been [illegible] and [illegible] valuable troops. They were very expensive to hire and to equip since they [illegible]

A naval battle illustrated in the 11th-century Byzantine *Cynegetica of Pseudo-Oppianos*. (Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Gr. 479, f. 23r, Venice)

[illegible] of King Herod' on a German carved wooden doorway made around AD1065. (In situ north transept of the Church of S. Maria im Kapitol, Cologne)

[illegible] their authority over much of the Middle East.

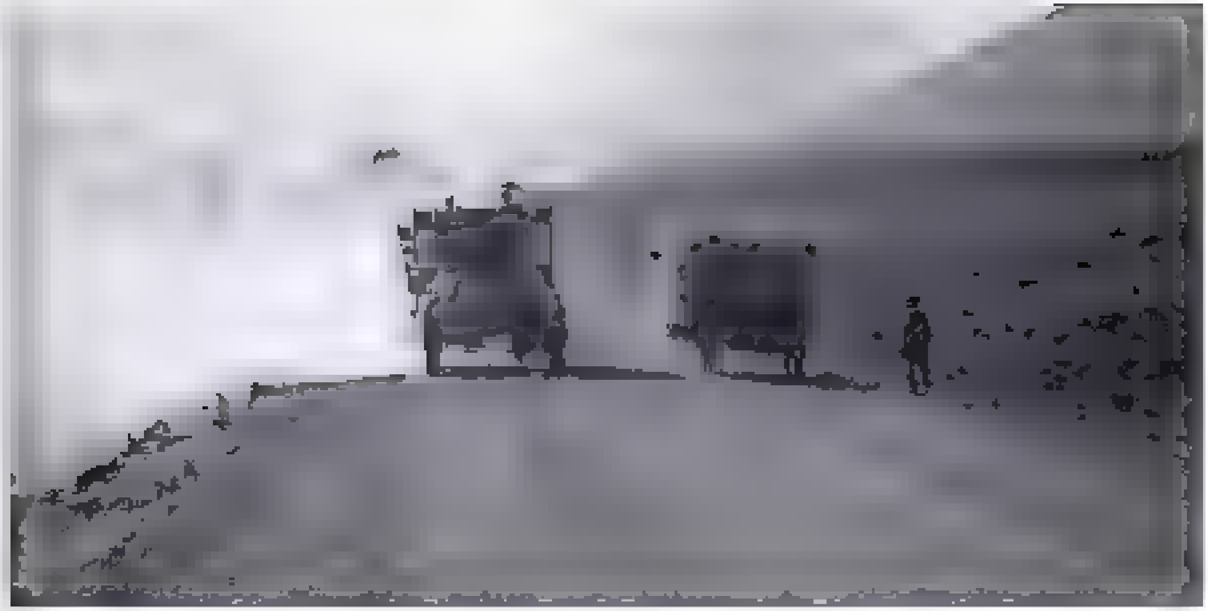
[illegible] war [illegible] against the Turks.

[illegible] nomad warriors from as far away as northern Mesopotamia.

[illegible] military zones, each commanded by an officer who had to raise [illegible] them to a military review each spring. However, this proved [illegible] demand contingents from local vassals.

The battle of Dorylaeum as illustrated in the lost mid-12th-century windows in the Church of St Denis, Paris.

The armies of the small Saljuq principalities in Syria were [illegible] Damascus. It was divided into five sections according to the soldiers' origins or role. The ruler's own elite palace units formed an askar of regular cavalry. Regular troops lived within the city while tribal forces summoned for a [illegible] with auxiliaries.



Even in the 1970s many major routes in central Turkey were still unsurfaced, including this dusty road through a valley where the First Crusade itself passed. (author's photograph)

THE FATIMIDS

The most significant military development in eleventh-century Middle Eastern armies was the increase in the proportion of professional personnel. The level of skill demanded of a soldier was now so high that the old tribal and conscript forces could no longer compete. This was clearly seen in the Fatimid Caliphate whose recruitment also seems to have changed considerably since the Fatimid conquest of Egypt and Syria in the 10th century. Its army was more effective than is generally thought but was also smaller, the biggest expeditionary armies being some tens of thousands.

The majority of soldiers may have been Sunni Muslim, despite the fact that the Fatimid Caliphate was a Shi'a state, and most of the ethnic groups that played a prominent role in the early days had been downgraded in favour of new sources of recruitment. Virtually all Berbers were, for example, disbanded by the Armenian Grand Vizier Badr al-Jamali in 1073, although naval troops still included Berbers and Arabs. African troops now played a major role in Fatimid forces, especially as garrison infantry. The loyalty of slave-recruited African troops was such that they formed elite armoured infantry guards for more than one Fatimid caliph. Other *sudan*, or 'blacks' as they were called in the Arabic sources, included mercenaries from Nubia, Eritrea, Ethiopia and beyond.

Though fewer in number, Arab troops of Bedouin origin played an influential role. In fact it was largely Arab soldiers from southern Palestine who enabled the Fatimid outpost of Ascalon to hold out against the invading crusaders for so long. Non-Bedouin local Arab populations had a limited military role under the Fatimids, normally in urban *ahdath* militias, although these were more typical of Syria and Palestine than Egypt. It is also worth noting that the substantial Jewish population of Jerusalem had close connections with the Fatimid garrison at the time of the First Crusade, and also fought in defence of the city's walls.

Experience of fighting Turkish *mamluk* or *ghulams* in Syria and Palestine rapidly convinced the Fatimid Caliph that he should build a new army of the same pattern as his eastern rivals. Not surprisingly these eastern foes did not want their Turkish *mamluk* recruits to [illegible] the Fatimids and so the latter were unable to purchase as many as they wished. As a result, the elite of the later Fatimid army was a mixture of [illegible] and mercenaries. It is also possible that part of the Saljuq garrison of Jerusalem was re-employed by the Fatimids after they retook the city in 1098.

The Fatimids recruited Armenians in larger numbers as both infantry archers and cavalry. [illegible] Armenian troops became so important that several [illegible] viziers were selected from their commanding officers in the late 11th and 12th centuries. They probably formed at least part of the [illegible] garrisons and would play a significant role in Ascalon during the early 12th century. It seems likely that the presence of Armenian *ghulams* in Fatimid service also made it easier for Armenian refugees to find employment during the second half of the 11th century. Their main role was to defend Egypt against the Saljuq Turks and then to [illegible] counter-attack to regain Syria.

Daylami infantry also entered Egypt where they were particularly welcome because, like the Fatimid caliphs, they were Shi'a Muslims. These professional soldiers may also have formed the Fatimid army's *mufarida* or elite corps of [illegible] troops. A [illegible] description by Ibn al-Tuwayr of the Fatimid regiments [illegible] a New Year celebration in the late [illegible] [illegible] and said to consist of 'Franks' – namely western Europeans.

Once the Fatimids had conquered Egypt in the 10th century they attempted to copy the Abbasid military organisation, maintaining a substantial garrison in their new capital of Cairo. But the bulk of the Fatimid army was stationed [illegible] the Saljuq Turks in the 11th century, the [illegible] Fatimids struggled [illegible] to maintain their control of the coasts of Palestine and what is now Lebanon, a situation that was ongoing when the First Crusade arrived in AD1099.

The Fatimid army itself consisted of regiments identified either by the ruler who raised them, by the name of their commanding officer or by their technical function. Such regiments were subdivided into smaller units down to groups of ten men and there were well-established officer ranks; most of the complex military administration was carried out by Coptic Christian scribes.

OPPOSING PLANS

THE CRUSADER PLAN

Historians still argue about what the First Crusade originally intended to achieve and whether there was a clear objective when, in 1095, Pope Urban II started preaching what became the First Crusade. However, a more traditional interpretation of the origins of the First Crusade maintains that the Crusade and the crusading vow always focused upon going to Jerusalem and taking the Christian Holy Land from the infidel Muslims. At the same time it seems clear that the Latin Church and the western European Christians had two aims, namely to help the Byzantine Empire and to conquer Jerusalem. The first of these aims would hopefully inspire gratitude in the Orthodox Greek or eastern Christian world and thus facilitate the reunification of Christendom under Papal leadership following the Latin–Orthodox Schism of 1054.

By the time the First Crusade marched, at least its primary aim was to conquer the Holy Land, while helping the Byzantine Empire recover lost territory now seemed secondary. Earlier, when the primary aim may have been to assist the Emperor Alexios, the question of Crusaders' relations with Islamic peoples and states was not important. They were simply an enemy to be defeated. Quite what was expected to happen once Jerusalem was captured was, however, unclear. What, for example, would happen to the Islamic populations of the area? There may have been a vague hope that the Islamic world could be converted to Christianity, though the evidence for this is thin. In an atmosphere of increasing religious

The medieval walls and towers of Kayseri in Cappadocia, south-central Turkey. (Author's photograph)

A seated Saljuq Turkish ruler surrounded by attendants and guards, on an 11th-century stucco wall decoration from Rayy, Iran. (Archaeological Museum, Tehran; author's photograph)

[illegible] questions concerning [illegible] Jerusalem [illegible] may have seemed [illegible] Crusaders [illegible] establish themselves in the Middle East [illegible] Byzantine Emperor [illegible] Constantinople [illegible] subsequently [illegible] Plans also [illegible] of the East [illegible] Crusaders [illegible] Latin.

The [illegible] was not a new [illegible] Middle East. [illegible] Crusaders [illegible] was now [illegible]. Their strategy was [illegible] of the East [illegible] the same [illegible] veterans of mercenary service in the Byzantine army.

BYZANTINE PLANS

The Emperor Alexios I Komnenos [illegible] requested [illegible] assistance from the West [illegible] Anatolia [illegible] as much of the [illegible] as possible. [illegible] the Crusader [illegible] Constantinople were not what Alexios [illegible]. They were [illegible] volunteers willing [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] they were a [illegible] the [illegible] of the Empire. While [illegible] and soon suspecting that several leaders intended to seize territory for themselves rather than winning it back for Byzantium. Alexios used his political, diplomatic and military skill to channel the Crusaders' potential in useful directions. In this he was at least partially successful.

Byzantine strategy was clearly aimed at denying the Saljuq Turks of Anatolia access to the sea, most immediately to the small Sea of Marmara facing Constantinople. Here the Byzantine army and navy had already achieved some success. It is also worth noting that the Fatimid Caliphate was [illegible] the Saljuq Turks access to the Mediterranean in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. This similarity of strategic interests has not been recognised by most historians but may have contributed to those diplomatic exchanges between Constantinople and Cairo during the course of the First Crusade.

However, the Crusaders were almost immediately persuaded to abandon the traditional pilgrim road through Anatolia via Ankara. Instead they followed Byzantine advice and took an unusual southerly route [illegible] Alexios saw possession of [illegible] Pisidia [illegible] as the key [illegible] of Pisidia. [illegible] the Crusaders' march as part of a broader campaign by Byzantine forces to retake western Anatolia.

The [illegible] may also have hoped [illegible] the Crusaders [illegible] non-Byzantine Armenian [illegible] Taurus [illegible] Consequently the Crusaders were persuaded [illegible] This [illegible] also separated Yaghi Siyan of Antioch from the Saljuqs of Rum [illegible]

SALJUQ PLANS

There was no overall Saljuq plan to deal with the Crusaders. The invasion probably came as a complete surprise to the Muslims and there was as yet virtually no understanding of what the Crusade was all about. Consequently the Saljuq Turkish states reacted in an independent way. Kilich Arslan, the ruler of the Saljuqs of Rum, had easily defeated the Peasants'

In summer the mountains and valleys of the Taurus mountains are fertile and benign, but in winter it would have been extremely difficult to take a medieval army through such terrain. (Author's photograph) [illegible] during the Byzantine reconquest.

[illegible] defeat at the hands of the Crusaders outside Antioch.

[illegible]

FATIMID PLANS

[illegible]

[illegible] finally abandoned this delusion.

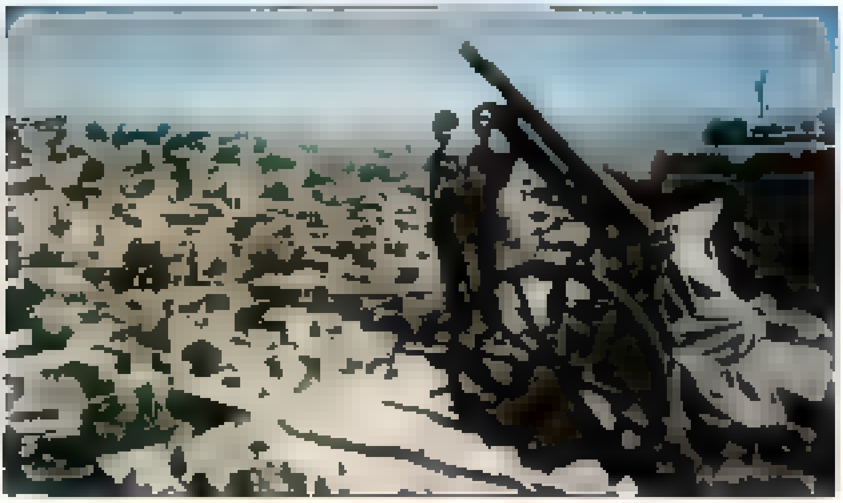
[illegible]

THE CAMPAIGN

The routes [illegible] by various crusader hosts across Europe [illegible] however, it is the events between the First Crusade leaving Constantinople, [illegible] Jerusalem and subsequent defeat of the Fatimid army outside Ascalon [illegible] the focus of this book. The political negotiations between [illegible] Alexios and the leaders of the crusade did, however, have [illegible] bearing on the course of this campaign.

[illegible] were [illegible] by the leaders of the First Crusade [illegible] compromises were to be [illegible] territories. Debate continues over the [illegible] of these agreements. Some Crusaders may have [illegible] Serious tensions only emerged after taking Antioch when Alexios made it clear he regarded the agreements as binding.

Another [illegible] aspect of the [illegible] in Constantinople was the correspondence between the Byzantine and Fatimid governments. [illegible] by the Aleppo chronicler [illegible] suggests that in 1097 the Byzantine authorities informed the Muslims about the arrival of the First Crusade. Alexios had no desire [illegible] with either the Anatolian Saljuqs or the [illegible] Saljuq Sultan [illegible] sources refer to diplomatic correspondence between Constantinople and [illegible] The Fatimids probably [illegible] after the defeat of the Saljuqs the crusaders would [illegible] while the Fatimids re-established their control in Lebanon and Palestine.



The city of Kahramanmaraş seen from its Citadel. (Author's photograph)

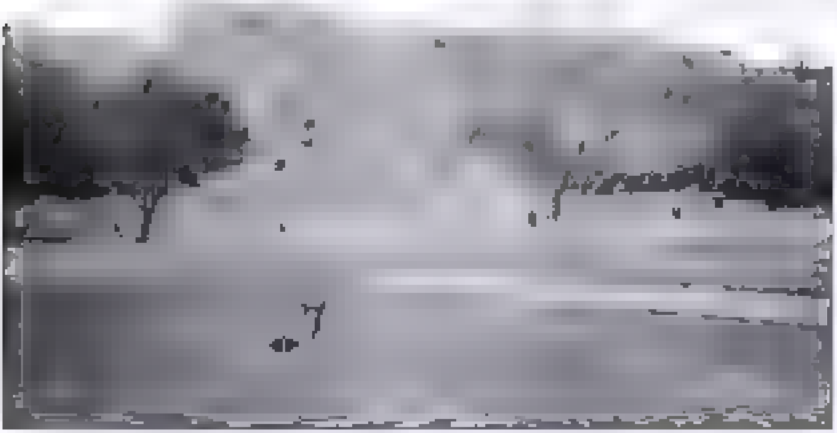
The Saljuqs of Rum were soon aware of the arrival of Crusader contingents around Constantinople. On learning that the Crusaders were threatening his territory Qilich Arslan came to an agreement with his Danishmandid rivals and they jointly marched against the invaders.

The siege of Nicaea

Most Crusader contingents were ferried across the Bosporus from Constantinople where they had wintered early in 1097 and made camp at Pelekanon. Many of these were on the shore of the Gulf of Izmit, where the corner of north-western Anatolia that the Byzantines had already regained. From here most of the Crusader contingents advanced into Saljuq-held territory. They followed the old Roman road from Nicomedia (Izmit) to Nicaea (Iznik). They arrived outside Nicaea on 6 May 1097 to begin the siege. The contingents of Bohemond, of Tancred, Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois arrived over the next days and weeks. They were supported by a Byzantine contingent of around 2,000 troops under Tatikios. A seaborne Byzantine force supplied the boats necessary to complete the siege of lakeside Nicaea. Eventually the Crusader forces outside Nicaea numbered around 4,200–4,500 cavalry and 30,000 infantry, excluding non-combatants. Meanwhile the Emperor Alexios remained at Pelekanon to supervise supplies.

On 16 May a Turkish relief army under Qilich Arslan and the Danishmandid [illegible] had [illegible] been located at [illegible] Melitene, probably via [illegible], Ankara and Dorylaeum (Eskisehir). Most if not all of these Turks were cavalry, which enabled them to move fast in the hope of relieving Nicaea through a sudden attack before the Crusaders established proper siege lines. Apparently the Turks attacked Raymond of Toulouse's Provençals outside the southern wall because this southern French contingent had just arrived and not yet established proper positions. The Turks would also have hoped to break into the city and reinforce the small defending garrison. But the Provençals held their ground until Godfrey of Bouillon's and Robert of Flanders' contingents spilled around the eastern side of Nicaea, striking the Turks in the flank.

The Byzantine military Saint Theodore portrayed on a mosaic in the Greek Monastery of Osios Loukos, made around AD1000. (Author's photograph)


The medieval Citadel of Edessa (Urfa) with the once sacred Birkat Ibrahim or 'Pool of Abraham' in the foreground. (Author's photograph)

A section of the Anglo-Norman Bayeux Tapestry illustrates 'Harold's ship on the way to Normandy'. More than one fleet of northern European vessels sailed into the Mediterranean and were involved in the later stages of the First Crusade. (Tapestry Museum, Bayeux)

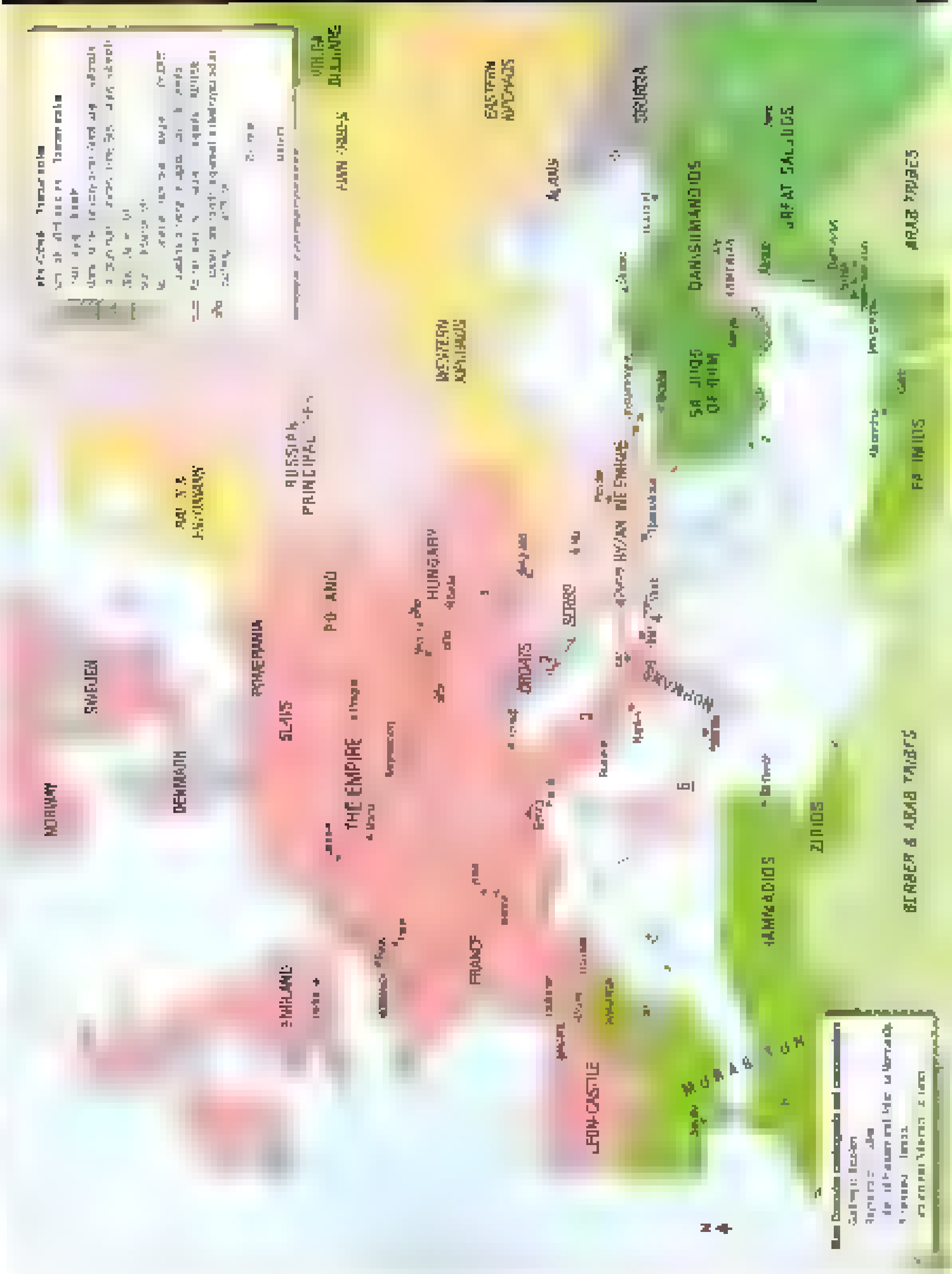
The fighting took this [illegible] losses. The [illegible] of the Crusaders now soared, as a letter from Anselm of Ribemont [illegible] Archbishop [illegible] attack.

[illegible] made [illegible] *enemy shot at us and we at them, each doing his best in these encounters. With our machines we often [illegible] the city but because a strong wall resisted us the attack failed. Turks often perished, struck by arrows or stones, and Franks likewise [illegible] when they [illegible] wall in any way, they let down iron hooks to secure by ropes and took the body up [illegible] After stripping the corpse, they threw [illegible]*

The siege of Nicaea was not over but the defenders could not hope for [illegible] larger [illegible] the Turkish garrison.

[illegible]

THE CRUSADERS CONVERGE ON CONSTANTINOPLE



Turkish captives for sale. One of them was a ten-year-old boy whom the Crusaders gave to the Emperor Alexios. He was renamed John Axouchos and was selected as a companion for John, the Emperor's son. John Axouchos later proved devoted to the Komnenid dynasty and rose to become megas domestikos or commander of Byzantium's eastern armies.

Following the taking of Nicaea, Emperor Alexios persuaded the Crusader leadership to send envoys to the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt. Crusader commanders were learning about the quarrels within the Islamic world but signally failed to make use of these divisions once they reached Syria. Nor did they appreciate the difficulties that lay ahead, as Stephen of Blois indicated in a letter sent to his wife in June 1097: 'I tell you, my beloved, that in five weeks we shall reach Jerusalem from Nicaea unless Antioch stands in our way.'

During the trek across Anatolia a Byzantine force of some 2,000 men commanded by Tatikios marched in the vanguard because it included guides and, perhaps, interpreters. This placed Tatikios close to Bohemond of Taranto whose men, along with those of Robert of Normandy, headed the line of march. The army should not, perhaps, be described as a column since there were substantial gaps between various contingents – a fact that would have a major impact on their next battle.

An armed but unarmoured warrior on a southern French carved capital dating from the start of the 12th century. (In situ Cloisters of the Abbey of St Pierre, Moissac; author's photograph)

The Crusaders now followed a route close to the foothills of the western and southern Anatolian mountains, keeping the arid Anatolian high plateau on their left flank. This took them through a [illegible] region of salt lakes and dried salt-flats between the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]sarma and modern Konya. Before this, however, the Crusaders faced another serious challenge from Qilich Arslan and his allies at the misnamed battle of Dorylaeum.

THE AMBUSH AT DORYLAEUM

A recent study of the Crusaders' route [illegible] to the battle seems to have solved the problems of interpretation that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the First Crusade. It suggests that the Crusaders took a route further west than historians had previously assumed,[2] thus avoiding the narrow and potentially dangerous lower gorges of the Sarı Su river and following the old Roman road across the Anatolian mountains. This brought the Crusaders and their guides down the valley of the river [illegible] instead of following the Sarı Su valley, [illegible] was probably a very small river, [illegible] and turned abruptly westward.

The new proposed site of the battle [illegible] [illegible] 5[illegible] kilometres west of Eskişehir, ancient Dorylaeum, [illegible] every aspect of the written descriptions of the battle. It is now clear that the vanguard of the Crusader line of march was attacked with little warning by an enemy hidden behind hills. Some Turks must surely have been shadowing the Crusaders and the information that they sent to Qilich Arslan would have enabled him to select a battlefield offering advantages to the Turks' traditional tactics.

The leading division or vanguard of the Crusader army, consisting of the Byzantine contingent under Tatikios plus those of Bohemond of

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2 France, Victory in the East: A military history of the First Crusade (Cambridge, 1994) [illegible]

Taranto, Stephen of Blois and Robert of Flanders, were about five kilometres ahead of the second division and rearguard. A small shadowing force of Turkish cavalry may have adopted a position on low hills facing the Kara Su valley where it joined the broader valley of the Nane Dere. Meanwhile the main Turkish army under Qilich Arslan had formed up across the Nane valley, blocking the invaders' advance towards Dorylaeum but out of sight until the Crusaders emerged from the Kara Su valley. The Turkish array probably consisted of their traditional centre and two wings.

The remains of the Tutah Mosque in Aleppo, dating from the late 11th century. (Author's photograph)

As the Crusader vanguard reached the junction of the Kara Su and Nane rivers, they would have seen the main Turkish army on their right. The Crusaders would presumably have been aware of any Turkish 'shadowing force' on the hills. It was Bohemond of Taranto who ordered the infantry to make a defensive camp, partially protected by a 'flowery meadow' or marsh that still exists. Bohemond also ordered the cavalry to form up protecting the infantry as they established a defensive position. The main Turkish force now attacked the Crusader cavalry, forcing it back against infantry defending the camp's perimeter. The sources make it very clear that the Turkish harassing archery tactics initially confused the Crusaders. Fulcher of Chartres described the situation vividly: *The Turks crept up, howling loudly and shooting a shower of arrows. Stunned and almost dead, and with many wounded, we immediately fled. And it was no wonder, for such warfare was new to us all.*

The *Gesta Francorum* similarly described Turks 'Skirmishing, throwing darts and javelins and shooting arrows from an astonishing range'. Meanwhile part of the Turkish force probably swung left to find and attack the rest of the Crusader army that, if the scouts had been doing their duty, Qilich Arslan must surely have known existed. However, this part of the Turkish army attacked stragglers between the widely separated van and second or rear divisions of the Crusader column, maybe mistaking them for the remainder of the Crusader host.

The survivors probably fled to the Crusader contingents under Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse, which may have been as much as five kilometres behind the vanguard. Perhaps as a result of movement by Godfrey of Bouillon's contingent, the separated Turkish left wing presumably fell back to rejoin the main Turkish force but may have remained ignorant of the presence of a third Crusader contingent – the rearguard under Raymond of Toulouse. Turkish cavalry of a presumed 'shadowing force' may have meanwhile attacked and penetrated the other side of the Crusader camp.

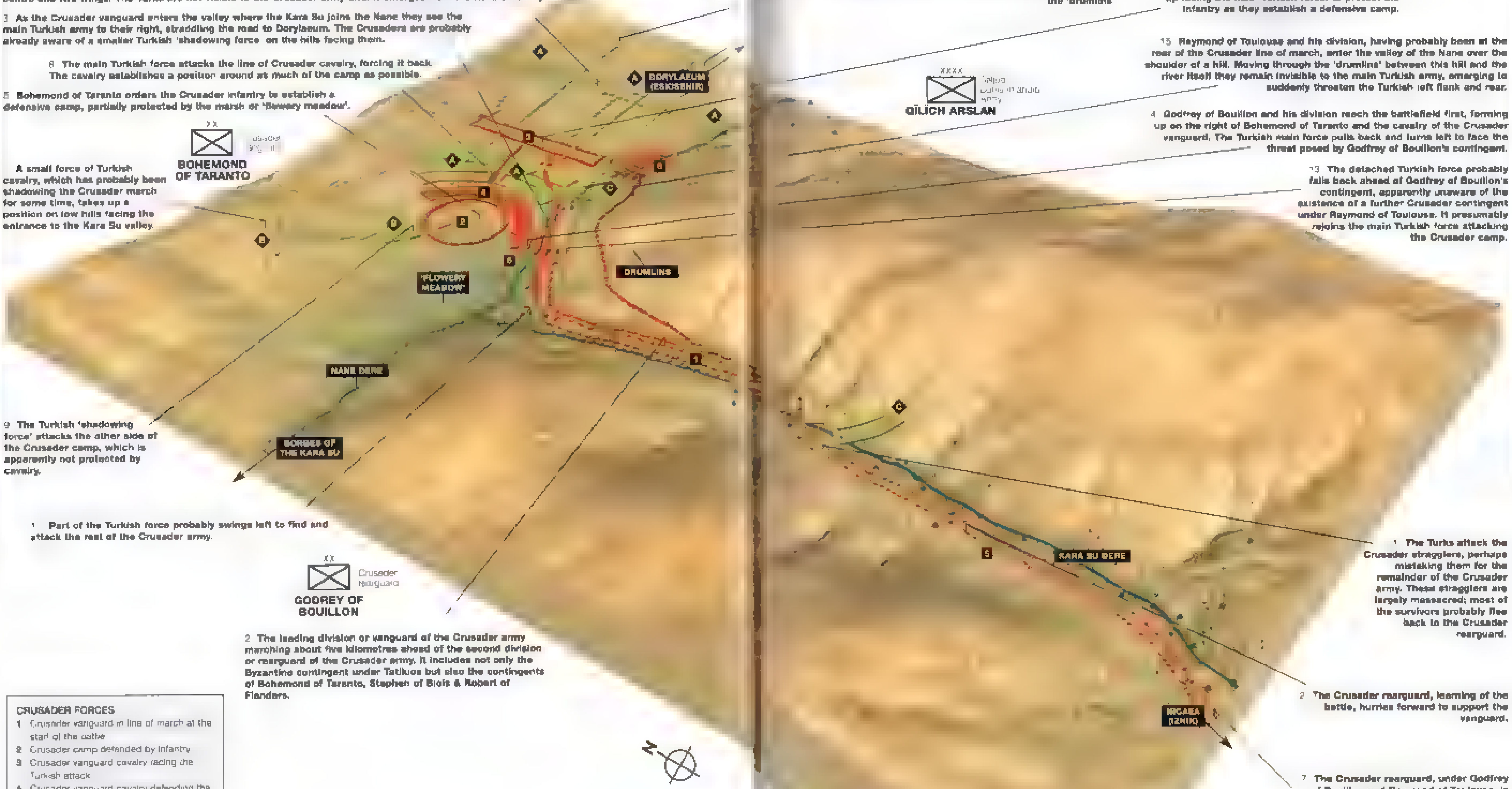
When Godfrey of Bouillon's division reached the battlefield they probably formed up on the right of Bohemond of Taranto, perhaps obliging the Turkish main force to pull back and face slightly to their left. More significantly Raymond of Toulouse's division, having probably been

Two infantrymen armed with long-hafted war-axes on a capital carved very early in the 12th century. (In situ Cloisters of the Abbey of St Pierre, Moissac; author's photograph)

at the rear of the Crusader column, presumably entered the valley of the river Nane over the shoulder of the hill. This took them through a series of drainage lines or [illegible] alluvial [illegible] formed by seasonal floodwater. These did not form a serious obstacle but might have obstructed the movements of Raymond's troops. Eventually Raymond charged into the Turkish flank and unexpectedly Qilich Arslan's army reeled and fled. The Crusaders had won another decisive victory.

The Turkish defeats outside Nicaea and at the battle of Dorylaeum resulted from tactical errors by Qilich Arslan and the great numerical superiority of the Crusaders. The Frankish victory at Dorylaeum was also

Part of the remains of the fortified southeastern walls of Antioch seen from the inside. (author's photograph)



1 Qilich Arslan I, Sultan of the Saljuqs of Rum, has deployed the main Turkish army across the valley of the Nane River blocking the Crusader advance towards Dorylaeum, probably in its traditional three divisions of a centre and two wings. The Turks are not visible to the Crusader army until it emerges from the Kara Su valley.

2 The leading division or vanguard of the Crusader army marching about five kilometres ahead of the second division or rearguard of the Crusader army. It includes not only the Byzantine contingent under Tatikios but also the contingents of Bohemond of Taranto, Stephen of Blois & Robert of Flanders.

3 As the Crusader vanguard enters the valley where the Kara Su joins the Nane they see the main Turkish army to their right, straddling the road to Dorylaeum. The Crusaders are probably already aware of a smaller Turkish 'shadowing force' on the hills facing them.

4 A small force of Turkish cavalry, which has probably been shadowing the Crusader march for some time, takes up a position on low hills facing the entrance to the Kara Su valley.

5 Bohemond of Taranto orders the Crusader infantry to establish a defensive camp, partially protected by the marsh or 'flowery meadow'.

6 Bohemond orders the Crusader cavalry to form up facing the main Turkish force, to protect the infantry as they establish a defensive camp.

7 The Crusader rearguard, under Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse, is approximately five kilometres behind the Crusader vanguard.

8 The main Turkish force attacks the line of Crusader cavalry, forcing it back. The cavalry establishes a position around as much of the camp as possible.

9 The Turkish 'shadowing force' attacks the other side of the Crusader camp, which is apparently not protected by cavalry.

10 Part of the Turkish force probably swings left to find and attack the rest of the Crusader army.

11 The Turks attack the Crusader stragglers, perhaps mistaking them for the remainder of the Crusader army. These stragglers are largely massacred; most of the survivors probably flee back to the Crusader rearguard.

12 The Crusader rearguard, learning of the battle, hurries forward to support the vanguard.

13 The detached Turkish force probably falls back ahead of Godfrey of Bouillon's contingent, apparently unaware of the existence of a further Crusader contingent under Raymond of Toulouse. It presumably rejoins the main Turkish force attacking the Crusader camp.

14 Godfrey of Bouillon and his division reach the battlefield first, forming up on the right of Bohemond of Taranto and the cavalry of the Crusader vanguard. The Turkish main force pulls back and turns left to face the threat posed by Godfrey of Bouillon's contingent.

15 Raymond of Toulouse and his division, having probably been at the rear of the Crusader line of march, enter the valley of the Nane over the shoulder of a hill. Moving through the 'drumlins' between this hill and the river itself they remain invisible to the main Turkish army, emerging to suddenly threaten the Turkish left flank and rear.

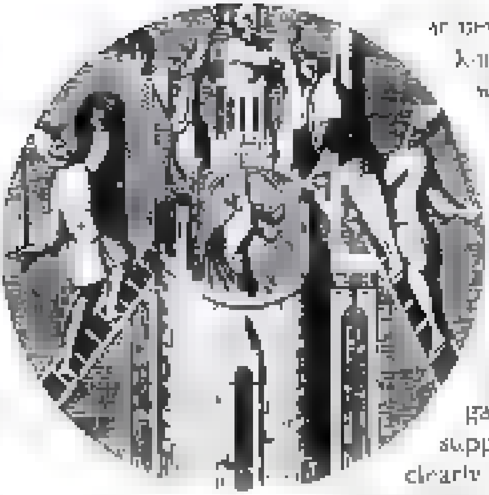
16 The Turkish army flees after its flank is turned by the sudden appearance of Raymond of Toulouse and his contingent through the 'drumlins'.

CRUSADER FORCES
1 Crusader vanguard in line of march at the start of the battle
2 Crusader camp defended by infantry
3 Crusader vanguard cavalry facing the Turkish attack
4 Crusader vanguard cavalry defending the camp
5 Crusader stragglers between vanguard and rear divisions
6 Crusader rearguard during latter stages of the battle

SALJUQS & DANISHMANDIDS
A Main Turkish army under Qilich Arslan
B Turkish shadowing force
C Turkish troops moving to intercept the rest of the Crusader army

THE BATTLE OF DORYLAEUM

1 July 1097, viewed from the southwest. The Crusader army (following the erratic course of the Kara Su River and actually marching north at this moment) is ambushed by a combined Saljuq/Danishmandid army under Qilich Arslan



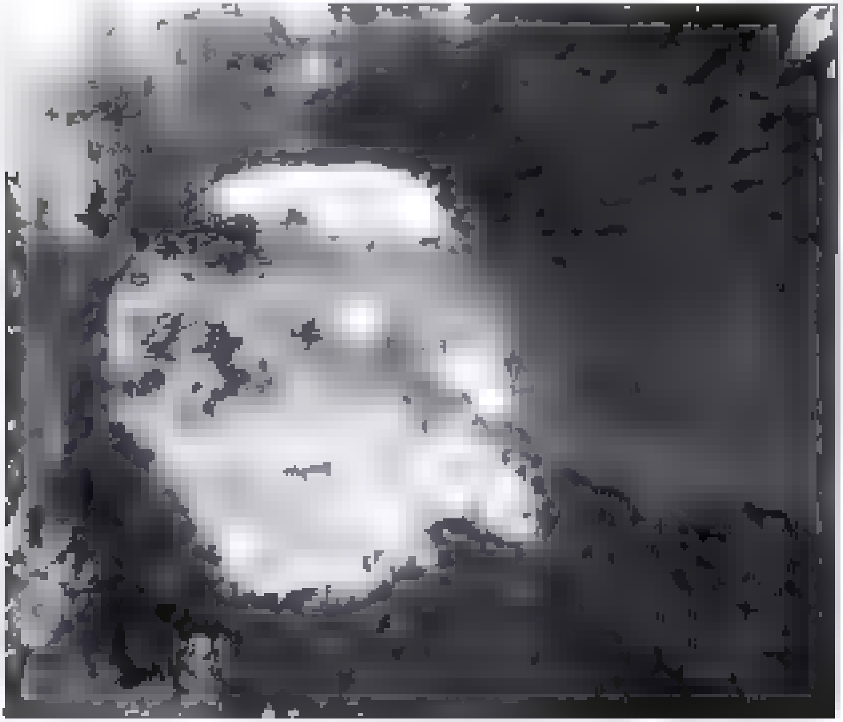
The Crusaders' capture of Antioch as shown in the early 19th-century drawing of the lost stained-glass windows of St Denis in Paris. The tower at the top represents the Citadel, which did not fall until after the defeat of Kür-Bugha's relieving army.

achieved by an effective combination of cavalry and foot soldiers, knights and infantry archers or crossbowmen. The *Gesta Francorum* was, however, full of praise for the Turks: *'Whoever will be wise or learned enough to dare to describe the valour, skill and fortitude of the Turks [illegible] shall speak the truth which no one will dare deny; certainly, if they had ever been firm in the faith of Christ and holy Christendom [illegible] no one could have found more powerful, braver or more skilful fighters than they.'*

Raymond d'Aguilers indicates that many Turks were taken captive after the battle and some converted to Christianity. This was probably why the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* was able to include detailed, though garbled, information about Qilij Arslan's army, whose ranks supposedly included *Agulani* and *Publicani*. The former were clearly *ghulams* or elite troops of slave-recruited origin, while the latter were probably *Paulicians*, members of a religious group that had long sought refuge from Christian persecution in eastern Anatolia.

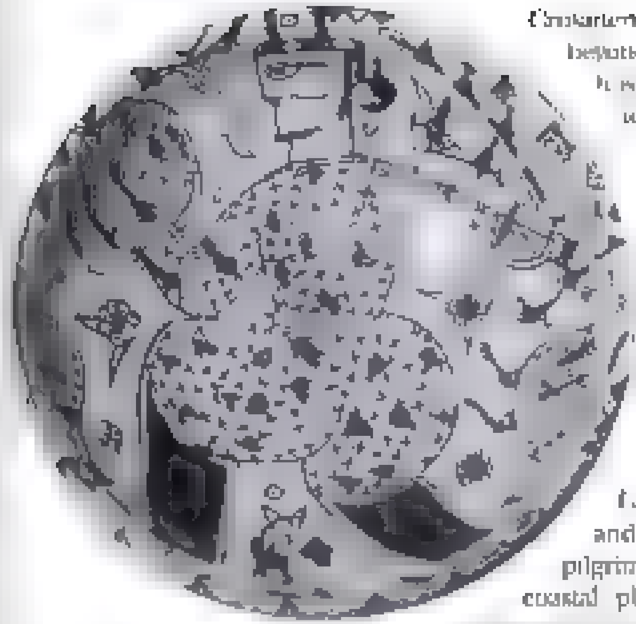
The Crusader host now continued its march through Seljuk lands. The Danishmandid army seems to have withdrawn to its own territory after Dorylaeum but Qilij Arslan's troops laid waste ahead of the advancing Crusaders. There seems to have been little resistance during this part of the Crusader march, [illegible] inhabitants of the towns and cities opening their gates after small Turkish garrisons withdrew.

The Crusaders reached Iconium (Konya) in mid-August and received a friendly reception but they merely occupied [illegible] handed it over to a Byzantine garrison. The Crusaders may have considered it untenable, although Qilij Arslan selected it as his new capital once the



One of the halls in the ruined Citadel overlooking Antioch (Frederick Nicolle photograph)

Crusaders left the area. Turkish resistance did increase beyond Iconium and early in September the Crusader host defeated a local Turkish garrison that attempted to ambush the invaders, outside Heraclea (Eregli).



A dismounted Islamic cavalryman armed with a sword and small round shield but still wearing riding boots, on a 10th- or 11th-century ceramic plate from Nishapur. (Private collection)

THE CRUSADE DIVIDES

The Crusaders began to run short of warhorses and baggage animals during their long march across the Anatolian plateau. As yet there seem to have been few tensions between Crusaders and Byzantines, but things may have started to go wrong when the Crusade divided east of Heraclea (Eregli). It was here that a small Crusader contingent led by Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred turned south, following the ancient pilgrim road through the Cilician Gates Pass into the coastal plain of Cilicia. Whether it was intended as a reconnaissance in force from the start or was merely a matter of land grabbing [illegible] leaders [illegible]. The bulk of the Crusader host, plus [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] Taticius, headed northeast into Cappadocia.

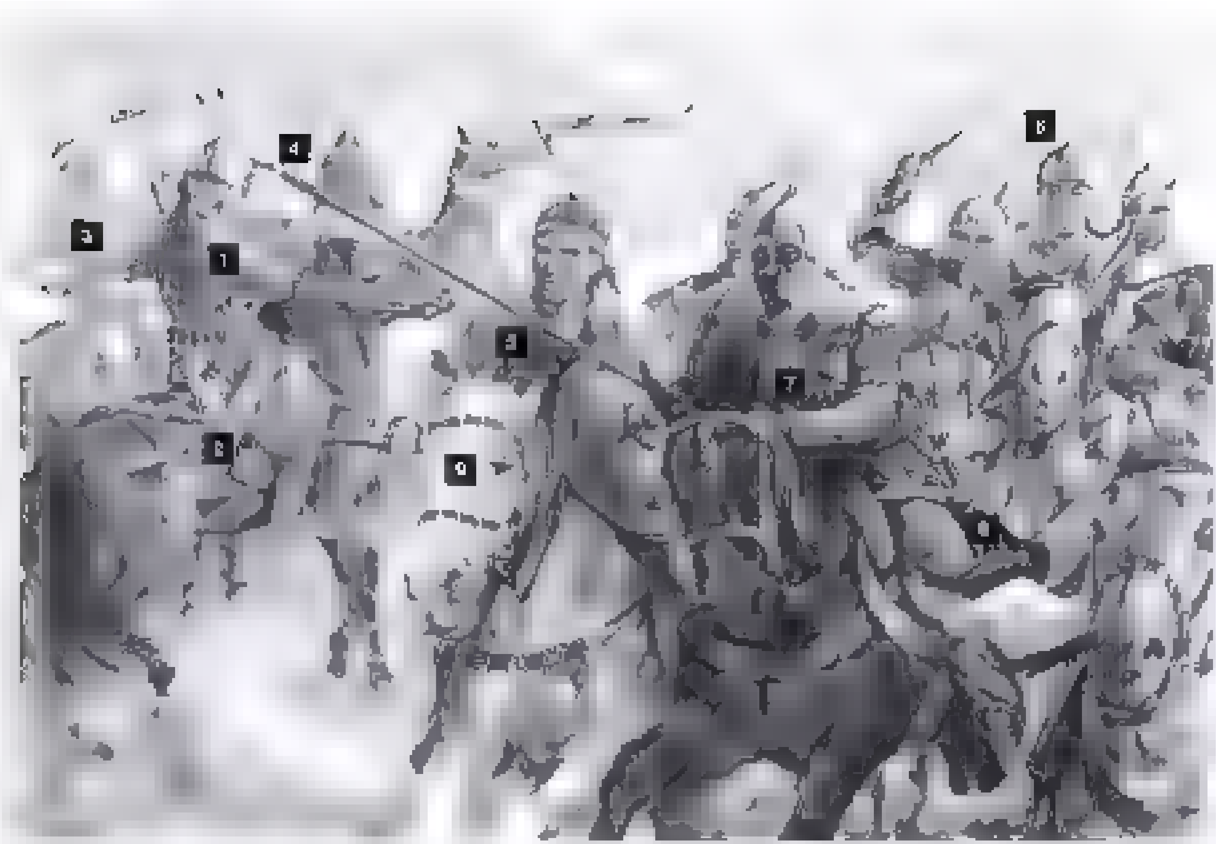
There were several possible reasons for this apparent diversion. Perhaps the Crusaders feared an ambush in the Cilician Gates, which had formed a [illegible] defensive [illegible] Byzantine Empire [illegible] states [illegible] the pass itself was, however [illegible] the bulk of [illegible] between Caesarea Mazacha (Kayseri) and Marash [illegible] which were more likely to be closed by winter snow.

So far the reasons were probably political and served Byzantine rather than Crusader interests. Armenian [illegible] still survived in the eastern Taurus and [illegible] mountains while the Byzantines had reasonable hopes of regaining the still largely Armenian Christian cities of eastern Cappadocia. On the other hand, [illegible] Armenian [illegible] from [illegible] the Taurus mountains were generally anti-Byzantine [illegible] Crusader leaders already had [illegible] with [illegible] Armenian leaders.

The local Turkish rulers did not give up without a fight and [illegible] September outside a place called Augustopolis the Crusaders defeated the [illegible] of a leader named Hasan [illegible] Sultan [illegible] of Rum [illegible] *Gesta Francorum* [illegible] what was probably [illegible] *Zoum* [illegible] *which was beautiful and exceedingly fruitful* [illegible] *which the Turks had besieged for three weeks before our arrival but had not conquered. Immediately upon our arrival there it straightaway surrendered into our hands with great pleasure. A certain knight whose name was Peter* [illegible] *to defend it in fealty to God, the Holy Sepulchre and the Emperor. They granted it to him freely.*

The interior of the church built around the grotto of St Peter in the hills just east of Antioch. (Author's photograph)

Byzantine garrisons were left in several places as the Crusaders now advanced, including Caesarea Mazacha (Kayseri) [illegible], considerably reducing the strength of Taticius' corps. Even with local



THE BATTLE OF DORYLAEUM (pages 42–43)
The main Turkish army under Qilich Arslan (1), ruler of the Sultanate of Rum in Anatolia, had formed up across the valley of the Nasa Dere. Here it blocked the Crusader horde's advance towards the city of Dorylaeum but was also out of sight of the enemy until the latter emerged from the Kara Su valley. The Turks were probably in their traditional three divisions consisting of a centre and two wings. As the Crusader vanguard reached the point where the Kara Su and Nasa streams joined, they would have seen the main Turkish army to their right, probably straddling the road to Dorylaeum. While Bohemond of Taranto ordered the Crusader infantry to erect a defensive camp, partially protected by a marsh or 'flowery meadow', the Crusader cavalry formed up facing Qilich Arslan's troops. At this point the main Turkish force attacked the line of Crusader cavalry, forcing it back to the defensive camp. The sources clearly state that the Crusaders were initially confused by the Turks' harassing archery tactics, which is why they retreated like huddled masses in an arrow storm. Fulcher of Chartres described the situation vividly: 'The Turks crept up, howling loudly and shooting a shower of arrows. Stunned and almost dead, and with many wounded, we immediately fled. And it was no wonder, for such warfare was new to us all.' The *Gesta Francorum* similarly described Turks, 'Skirmishing, throwing darts and javelins and shooting arrows from an astonishing range.' In this picture the only Turkish archery equipment visible is Qilich Arslan's own quiver (2), though he would also have had a bowcase over his left thigh. Battlefield control was vital for such sophisticated tactics and here the Turks could use both Central Asian and long-established Middle Eastern systems. The former included war-drums played by professional military musicians, usually riding mules (3) while the latter included large animals such as camels carrying banners as mobile rallying points (4). However, before the Turkish commander's élite armoured ghulam cavalry (7) could penetrate the Crusader line they were themselves unexpectedly attacked in the flank by a second Crusader force and forced to retreat in disorder. The armies of Qilich Arslan and his Danishmendid Turkish ally clearly included a great variety of troops. These ranged from relatively lightly armoured tribesmen (5), through professional freeborn soldiers who would have used a variety of equipment (6) to the heavily armoured elite of slave-recruited ghulams (7). Apart from abundant armour of mail and lamellar construction, the status of the ghulams would almost certainly have been indicated by distinctive and highly decorated military belts as well as gilded fittings on the swords (8). On the other hand archaeological discoveries show that highly decorated and sometimes gilded horse-harness was popular amongst almost all ranks (9). (Christa Hook)

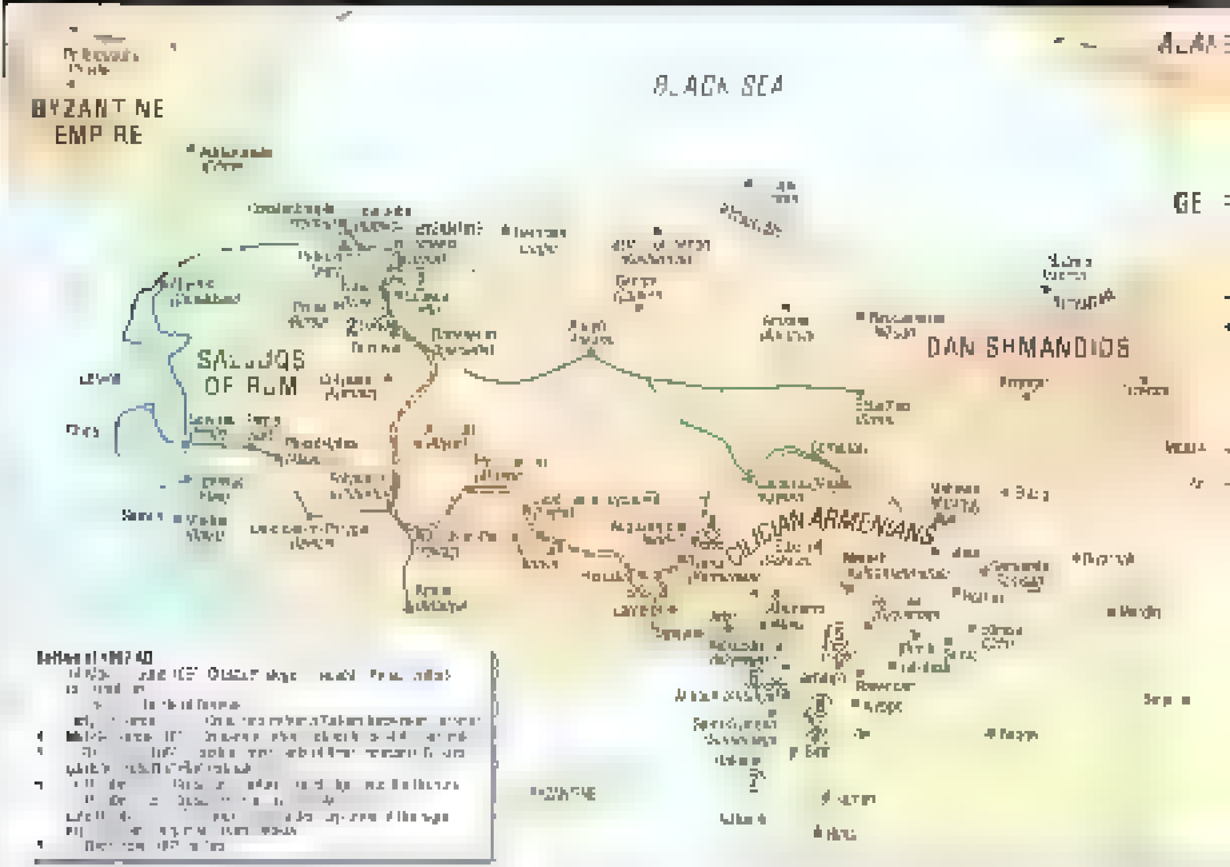
A Turkish and an Arab or Berber soldier representing two of the sections of the Fatimid army, on a fragment of painted paper from Fustat probably dating from the 11th or 12th century. (Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo)

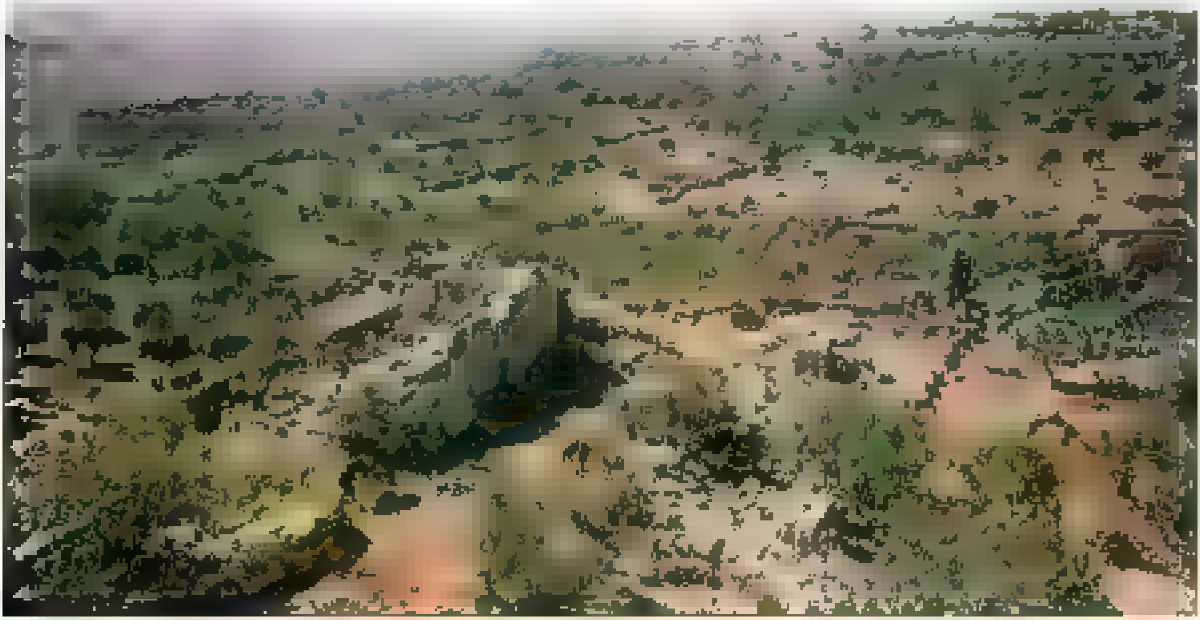
[illegible] Marash.

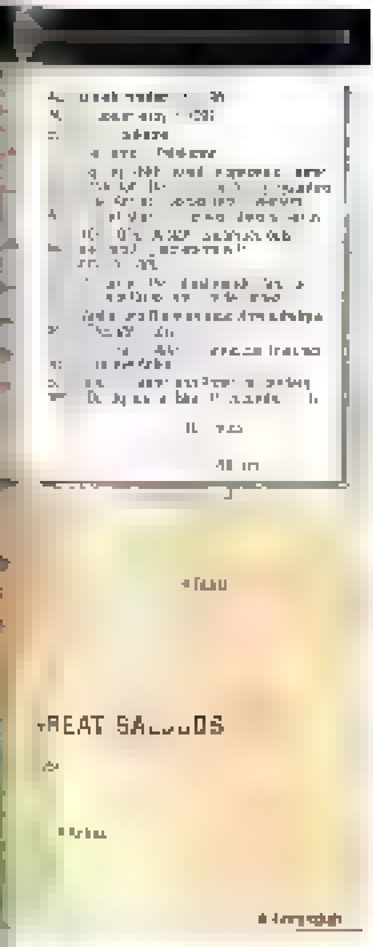
[illegible] Crusaders had only 700–1,000 warhorses.

[illegible]

OPERATIONS IN ANATOLIA, AD1097 TO EARLY 1098







[illegible] English [illegible] eastern Mediterranean [illegible] were [illegible] warships [illegible] Scandinavian [illegible] English [illegible] Byzantine galleys.

Following its operations in Cilicia, the smaller Crusader force headed east. [illegible] Baldwin.

Baldwin [illegible] Edessa [illegible] request for help from one of its rival Armenian [illegible] this small force [illegible] garrison [illegible] arrived [illegible] 20 February 1098. [illegible] Edessa [illegible] Kurbuqa [illegible] Philaretus who had for several years also ruled Antioch. [illegible] Baldwin [illegible] Crusader County of Edessa.

Byzantines and Muslims

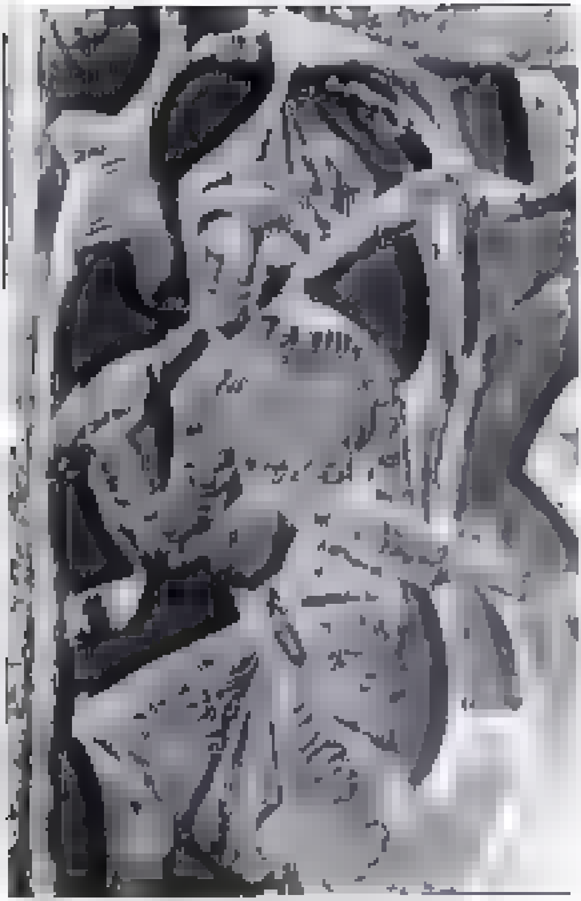
The First Crusade [illegible] campaign. While the Crusaders [illegible] Syria, the Emperor Alexios [illegible] separate operations [illegible] western Anatolia from the Saljuqs and other Turks.

[illegible] Alexios [illegible] Chaka [illegible] Smyrna [illegible] his successors [illegible] was supported by a [illegible] fleet under Admiral Caspax [illegible] garrisons [illegible] Ephesus [illegible] Sardis, Philadelphia [illegible] Laodicea [illegible] through which the Crusaders had passed the previous summer.

The Emperor now established his headquarters at Philomelion [illegible] while Qilich Arslan [illegible] But Alexios was unsure what the Saljuqs would do next. [illegible] challenge his [illegible] support the Saljuq garrison in Antioch, or merely hold

LEFT The late Byzantine and early medieval Islamic ruins of the largely abandoned city of al-Bara in northwestern Syria. (Author's photograph)

ABOVE RIGHT An archer using a southern Italian form of probably composite bow, on a late 11th-century carved capital. (In situ Church of San Giovanni, Ravello; Ian Peirce photograph)



Soldier in a segmented or fluted helmet or hat, carrying a long-hafted mace and leading a horse, on an 11th- or early 12th-century carved wooden panel from Fatimid Egypt. (Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Iconium, their future capital? Instead the rivalry between the Saljuqs of Rum and the Danishmandids re-ignited almost as soon as the Crusaders had left, once again focusing on domination over Melitene (Malatya).

Meanwhile Alexios organised supplies for the Crusaders now besieging Antioch. These went by sea as the returning Turks had apparently severed the overland link between the Byzantines at Philomelium and the Crusaders around Antioch. In fact Turkish raiders killed some belated Danish Crusaders near Philomelium.

Having withdrawn his remaining troops from the Crusader siege of Antioch early in February 1098, Tatikios made his way back by sea to rejoin his Emperor at Philomelium. There he was sent to command a force sent against a Pisan fleet that had attacked Byzantine shipping. Another Byzantine officer named Landulph appears to have commanded the Byzantine ships. The Pisans were actually on their way to join the Crusaders but were defeated by Tatikios and Landulph, who pursued them to the Syrian coast where the Pisans offered their services to Bohemond of Taranto.

Alexios was still at Philomelium when Stephen of Blois arrived in June 1098, having abandoned the siege of Antioch in despair. Stephen's belief that the Crusader army must now have been destroyed [illegible] Alexios [illegible] posture [illegible] Saljuq [illegible] danger [illegible] the bodies of [illegible] Eventually [illegible] Alexios abandoned Philomelium [illegible] its population [illegible] It is supposed [illegible] the Emperor Alexios [illegible] steadily increased.

[illegible] Saljuq [illegible] governor [illegible] squabbled [illegible] Ridwan of Aleppo and his [illegible] Janah al-Dawla took the small [illegible] Ma'arat al-[illegible] that year [illegible] Dawla [illegible] Ridwan [illegible] Antioch [illegible] Yaghi Siyan of Antioch [illegible] between Ridwan and Janah al-Dawla. [illegible] Duqaq of Damascus [illegible] Aleppo [illegible] Ridwan and [illegible] Ridwan was [illegible] Ridwan's [illegible] and establish [illegible] independent [illegible] formed an alliance with Ridwan and gave his daughter in marriage to the ruler of Aleppo. The new allies [illegible]

The little-known qala'at or castle of Khalid ibn Walid in Hasakah in northeastern Syria. The walls are believed to date from the late 11th- or 12th-century Seljuq period. (Author's photograph)

Sokman ibn Artuk and headed for Hims, which they intended to take from Janah al-Dawla before marching against Damascus. Instead of attacking Damascus, however, the three allies moved against Arab-ruled Shayzar, perhaps intending to attack Hims and Damascus afterwards.

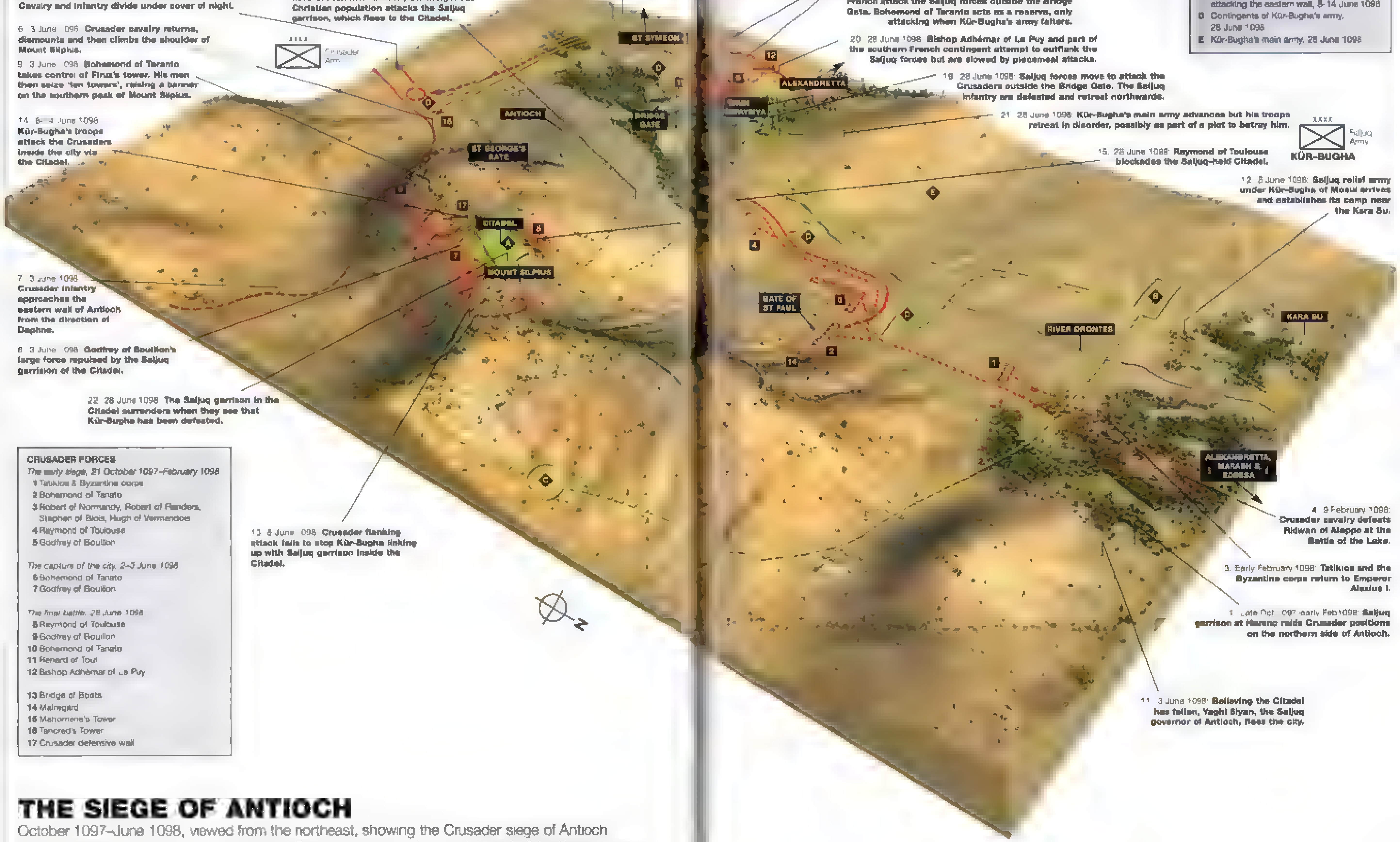
A few weeks after beginning their siege of Shayzar the allies learned of the approaching Crusader horde. Yaghi Siyan promptly hurried back to Antioch but Ridwan and Sokman refused to accompany him. Instead they returned to their own power-bases to observe events.

THE SIEGE OF ANTIOCH

As soon as the Crusaders reached Yaghi Siyan's territory in October 1097 he sent his son with an urgent appeal for help to other Islamic rulers. However, the results were disappointing and there was the problem of Antioch's largely Christian population. According to Ibn al-Athir: *When Yaghi Siyan [illegible] learned of the Crusaders' approach he was not sure how the Christian people of the city would react, so he made the Muslims go outside the city to dig trenches, and the next day he sent the Christians out to continue the task. When they were ready to return home at the end of the day he refused to allow them in. 'Antioch is yours,' he said, 'but you will have to leave it to me until I see what happens between us and the Franks.' 'Who will protect our children and our wives?' they said. 'I shall look after them for you.' So they resigned themselves to their fate and lived in the Frankish camp for nine months while the city was under siege.*

To [illegible] Yaghi Siyan [illegible] expelled [illegible] the Christian leadership and the [illegible] Crusaders [illegible] which the Crusade reached [illegible] many of the Turkish garrison [illegible] expelled the rest [illegible] inhabitants of Antioch.

Christian domination of the seas between Antioch and Cyprus and northern Syria was vital to the Crusader siege of Antioch. Byzantine naval



2 Late Oct 1097–May 1098 **Saljuq garrison of Antioch raids & ambushes Crusader stragglers and supply convoys too and from St Symeon.**

5 2/3 June 1098 **Crusaders concentrate south of Antioch then march south towards Daphne (Harbiye). Cavalry and infantry divide under cover of night.**

10 3 June 1098 **Hearing the Crusaders have broken into Antioch, the indigenous Christian population attacks the Saljuq garrison, which flees to the Citadel.**

6 3 June 1098 **Crusader cavalry returns, dismounts and then climbs the shoulder of Mount Silpius.**

9 3 June 1098 **Bohemond of Taranto takes control of Firuz's tower. His men then seize 'ten towers', raising a banner on the southern peak of Mount Silpius.**

14 8–14 June 1098 **Kür-Bugha's troops attack the Crusaders inside the city via the Citadel.**

7 3 June 1098 **Crusader infantry approaches the eastern wall of Antioch from the direction of Daphne.**

8 3 June 1098 **Godfrey of Bouillon's large force repulsed by the Saljuq garrision of the Citadel.**

22 28 June 1098 **The Saljuq garrison in the Citadel surrenders when they see that Kür-Bugha has been defeated.**

13 8 June 1098 **Crusader flanking attack fails to stop Kür-Bugha linking up with Saljuq garrison inside the Citadel.**

June 1098: **Renard of**
and his contingent
a Saljuq force that
around from the
Gate of St. George.

16 28 June 1098 **Saljuq troops facing the Bridge Gate attack the Crusaders as they emerge but are counter-attacked by Hugh of Vermandois.**

17 28 June 1098: **Godfrey of Bouillon and the northern French attack the Saljuq forces outside the Bridge Gate. Bohemond of Taranto acts as a reserve, only attacking when Kür-Bugha's army falters.**

20 28 June 1098 **Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy and part of the southern French contingent attempt to outflank the Saljuq forces but are slowed by piecemeal attacks.**

19 28 June 1098: **Saljuq forces move to attack the Crusaders outside the Bridge Gate. The Saljuq infantry are defeated and retreat northwards.**

21 28 June 1098: **Kür-Bugha's main army advances but his troops retreat in disorder, possibly as part of a plot to betray him.**

15. 28 June 1098: **Raymond of Toulouse blockades the Saljuq-held Citadel.**

12 8 June 1098: **Saljuq relief army under Kür-Bugha of Mosul arrives and establishes its camp near the Kara Su.**

4 9 February 1098: **Crusader cavalry defeats Ridwan of Aleppo at the Battle of the Lake.**

3. Early February 1098: **Tatikios and the Byzantine corps return to Emperor Alexius I.**

1 Late Oct 1097–early Feb 1098: **Saljuq garrison at Harenc raids Crusader positions on the northern side of Antioch.**

11 3 June 1098: **Believing the Citadel has fallen, Yaghi Siyan, the Saljuq governor of Antioch, flees the city.**

CRUSADER FORCES

The early siege, 21 October 1097–February 1098

1 Tatikios & Byzantine corps
2 Bohemond of Taranto
3 Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Blois, Hugh of Vermandois
4 Raymond of Toulouse
5 Godfrey of Bouillon

The capture of the city, 2–3 June 1098

6 Bohemond of Taranto
7 Godfrey of Bouillon

The final battle, 28 June 1098

8 Raymond of Toulouse
9 Godfrey of Bouillon
10 Bohemond of Taranto
11 Renard of Toul
12 Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy

13 Bridge of Boats
14 Malregard
15 Mahomerie's Tower
16 Tancred's Tower
17 Crusader defensive wall

SALJUQ FORCES

A Saljuq garrison
B Kür Bugha's camp
C Kür Bugha's temporary camp while attacking the eastern wall, 8–14 June 1098
D Contingents of Kür-Bugha's army, 28 June 1098
E Kür-Bugha's main army, 28 June 1098

THE SIEGE OF ANTIOCH

October 1097–June 1098, viewed from the northeast, showing the Crusader siege of Antioch and the assault and capture of the city. Kür-Bugha's army marches to the relief of the Saljuq garrison holding out in the citadel, but is defeated by the Crusaders outside the city.

[illegible] Constantinople and the Byzantine island [illegible] supplies [illegible] needed [illegible] The Chronicler [illegible] probably an Anglo-Saxon [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] August 1097 [illegible] Boulogne [illegible] Byzantine garrison [illegible] through the [illegible] as the latter established siege lines around Antioch.

[illegible] transport [illegible] support the Crusade [illegible] galleys [illegible] after the fall of Jerusalem [illegible] November and December [illegible] Crusaders also [illegible] known as Mahomerie [illegible] Crusader siege-lines as a defence against [illegible] garrison [illegible]

At the start of the siege [illegible] Stephen of Blois [illegible] supplies [illegible] Antioch [illegible] January 1098 [illegible] Jerusalem [illegible] 200 [illegible] The army was [illegible] large, but not that large.

[illegible] siege [illegible] probably [illegible] sickness [illegible] horses [illegible] equipment [illegible]

Representations of Norman knights charging the Anglo-Saxons during the battle of Hastings, on the Bayeux Tapestry. It clearly shows lances being used both overarm and in the couched manner. (Tapestry Museum, Bayeux) during the siege of Antioch. Large numbers starved to death and it was during this difficult period that the Tafurs emerged as a well-organised band of 'poor' led by a horseless Norman knight. Men and women went on foraging expeditions around Antioch but they, like the supply convoys making their way from the ports to the besiegers, needed troops to protect [illegible] from Islamic units operating from [illegible] Antioch.

Meanwhile the situation within Antioch eased and plenty of supplies apparently got into the city. Large as the Crusader host was, it could not impose a complete blockade on Antioch and access and egress were still possible via the eastern walls and citadel. Certainly the Saljuq garrison could sally out of the city to harass Crusader siege-lines and intercept supply convoys from Saint-Symeon and Alexandretta.

It was the besiegers who suffered shortages, including a lack of horses. Raymond of Toulouse, being wealthier than most, organised [illegible] the other leaders contributed 500 marks to purchase remounts for their knights. Where these horses came from is unclear. Perhaps they were bought from local Christians, or perhaps the Byzantines shipped them from Cyprus. The besiegers were similarly short of timber to build counter-fortifications, which was why [illegible] observation post facing the Gate of St George was made of rubble and earth. A more substantial fortification called Tancred's Tower was later constructed in April 1098.

Relations with the Byzantines declined and popular anti-Byzantine feeling was more widespread amongst the rank and file than amongst the Crusader leadership. Tatikios had in fact suggested pressing the siege more closely to stop the garrison from coming in and out so easily but the Crusader leaders maintained that this would make them vulnerable to attack. By early February Tatikios' position was untenable and his

'The Defeat of Kür-Bugha's army outside Antioch' in the early 18th-century drawings of the lost 12th-century stained-glass windows of St Denis in Paris. In fact the Crusaders had few horses during this battle.

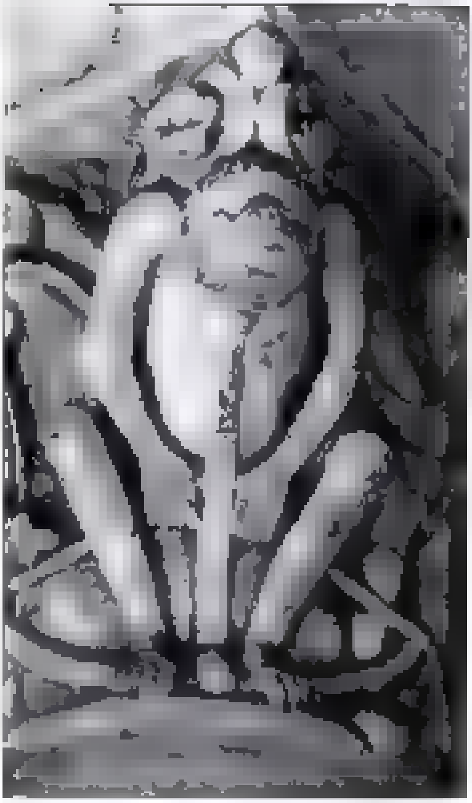
BELOW Ruins of the early medieval palace of Raqqa, overlooking the Euphrates in northern Syria, as it appeared in 1971 before being excavated by archaeologists. (Author's photograph)

troops withdrew to Saint-Simeon, from where they sailed to join the Emperor at Philomelium.

The first attempt to relieve the siege was half-hearted and resulted in the dispersal of a small army led by Duqaq of Damascus and the *amir* of Hama by a similarly small Crusader foraging force under Bohemond of Taranto and Robert of Flanders on 31 December. The troops of Damascus and Hama then apparently continued northward while the Crusader foragers fell back on their outpost at Artah. Duqaq of Damascus may in fact have been on his way to join a larger relief army assembling at Harenc, between Antioch and Aleppo. The garrison at Harenc had already been raiding Crusader positions around Antioch since late October. Now the forces of Aleppo and Diyarbakr were assembling here and were soon joined by those of Damascus and Hama, under the overall command of Ridwan of Aleppo.

These uncomfortable allies next advanced towards Antioch but were decisively defeated in battle next to the Lake of Antioch on 8 or 9 February 1098. The Crusaders and their Armenian allies reoccupied Harenc and, despite the fact that the Saljuq garrison set fire to the castle before retreating, the Crusaders found abundant stores of military equipment and apparently horses. There captured [illegible] were supposedly [illegible] suggesting that one of the smaller Crusader contingents was soon using Islamic arms, armour and horses.

Letters sent home by the Crusaders were by now less optimistic and wrote about their difficulties. The siege of Antioch consisted [illegible]



One of the earliest medieval representations of a crossbow in Europe, dating from the late 11th century. The weapon is being spanned or loaded by a demon. (In situ Cathedral of St Sernin, Toulouse; author's photograph)

A late 11th- or 12th-century bridge near the fortified medieval town of Amadiyah in northern Iraq. (Author's photograph)

Carved ivory chess pieces from the 11th century. They may have been made in southern Italy, Sicily, Byzantine territory or Fatimid Egypt. (Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

incomplete blockade, skirmishing [illegible] and duels between defensive and offensive siege artillery. The treatment of captives may also have become more brutal, Tancred beheading some Turkish prisoners and sending their heads to Bishop Adhemar as a religious tithe. For their part the Turkish garrison hung the heads of Christians convicted of treason on their walls, while efforts to ransom captives seem to have fallen through.

On 4 March 1098 another small fleet arrived at Saint-Simeon. It was described as being English but was not the Anglo-Saxon fleet that had already operated under Byzantine command. These newcomers had shown extraordinary determination by sailing during the normally closed winter season. Some stopped at Genoa and Pisa, collecting Italian volunteers on their way, while others may have sailed direct. A few days later the Crusaders decided to build another fort outside the Bridge Gate of Antioch to close an opening through which the garrison could raid communications between the besiegers and the coast.

The eventual fall of Antioch was the result of treachery by one of the garrison's officers. The defenders concentrated along the northern and western walls facing Crusader positions as well as the Gate of St George facing Tancred's Tower in the south. A reliable force would also have been stationed in the Citadel, though communication between the Citadel and the city below would have been difficult because of the cliffs between. At the same time the remaining walls, towers and postern gates of Antioch could not have been ignored. Perhaps Yaghi Siyan made the mistake of leaving these to less reliable troops.

An officer named Firuz al-Zarrad, or Firuz 'the armourer', was seemingly in charge of a tower, postern gate and a stretch of wall on the southeast side of the city. Firuz was a person of some standing and possibly an Armenian convert to Islam. A letter sent by Bohemond to Pope Urban in September 1098 stated: '*I, Bohemond, made an agreement with a certain Turk who betrayed the city to me, and with the help of many soldiers of Christ ... placed scaling-ladders against the wall shortly before daybreak.*'

On 2 June most of the Crusader fighting men assembled south of the city, then marched towards Daphne (Harbiye) as if leaving the foraging raid. However, the Crusader cavalry and infantry divided during the night, before returning to Antioch. The horsemen dismounted just south of the Gate of St George and climbed the steep gorge of the Wadi Zuiba, halting east of the ridge of Mount Silpius. The Crusader infantry probably approached the eastern wall of Antioch along a track directly from Daphne.

A small force of Crusaders under Bohemond of Taranto took control of the tower commanded by Firuz then opened a postern gate to allow the rest of their unit to penetrate the defences before dawn on 3 June. An attack by a larger force under Godfrey of Bouillon on the Citadel was repulsed. By daybreak Bohemond's men had seized ten towers and raised a banner on the southern peak of Mount Silpius. The remaining Christian population of Antioch attacked the Saljuq garrison in the city, which indicates that Yaghi Siyan had only expelled their leaders and those regarded as unreliable at the start of the siege. Yaghi Siyan apparently believed that the Citadel had fallen and immediately fled the city but was killed by Armenian irregulars north of Idlib. Much of the garrison fled up the mountainside to the Citadel as the Crusaders broke in, some being killed while climbing the cliffs. Having failed to take the Citadel, the Crusaders on Mount Silpius entered the city almost certainly through the Iron Gate to the north.

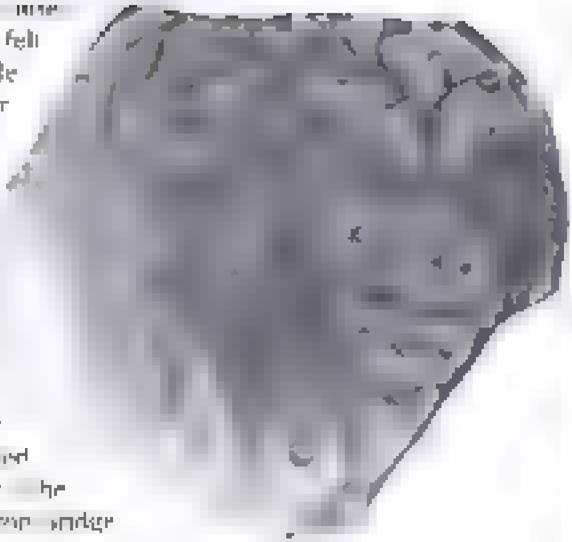
All that remains of the 12th-century Saljuq palace in Mosul is a reception hall or throne room overlooking the river Tigris. (Author's photograph)

The most personal account of the taking of Antioch comes from a letter written in the name of the [illegible] of Lucca. He spread an account by an eyewitness. This was Bruno of Lucca, had reported: '*Now four citizens, noble men of Antioch, sent on the third day of June they promised to surrender the city to Bohemond, Robert Curthose and Robert Count of Flanders. But with the common consent of all the princes, they marched the whole army to the wall of the city at nightfall, without the knowledge of the Turks. In the morning, when the citizens of Antioch opened the gates, expecting to receive the three named princes alone, all our men suddenly charged in together. There was a great din. Our men occupied all the towers except the highest, [illegible] to the Turks. Some they killed, some they hurled to destruction over the precipice.*'

All sources emphasise the slaughter at Antioch, as Bohemond and Tancred themselves recorded: 'We kept their wives, children and servants, together with their gold, silver and all their possessions.'

The Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad tried to generate support and assistance for the defenders of Antioch during the siege and had urged the Great Saljuq Sultan Berk Yaruq to send help in December. However, the Sultan's own forces were busy in eastern Iran, so he reportedly ordered Kur-Bugha, governor of Mosul, to save Antioch. In fact relations between Kur-Bugha and Berk Yaruq were difficult and the ruler of Mosul may have acted on his own initiative, assembling his forces around Mosul and heading west.

Eventually the armies of Syria, its Turks and Arabs, with the exception of Ridwan of Aleppo, joined Kur-Bugha near Aleppo. The [illegible] Ridwan's absence were [illegible] rivalry with Duqaq of Damascus, he may not have felt safe joining a force where Duqaq played a senior role. Nevertheless, Ridwan did allow the allies to gather within his own territory.



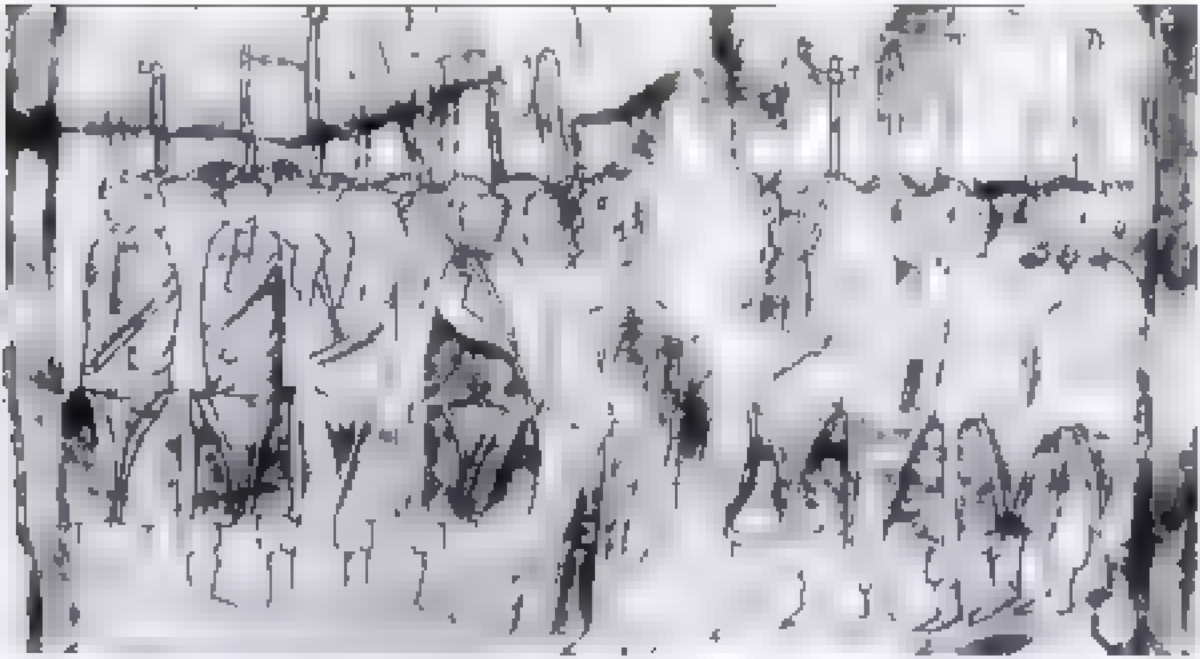
The broken base of a lustre ceramic from Egypt, probably dating from the 10th or 11th century. (Study Collection, Victoria & Albert Museum, London; author's photograph)

The Islamic forces assembled at Marj Dabiq near Qinnasrin, which had long been a traditional mustering area for armies because it contained abundant pastures for their horses. But before arriving, Kür-Bugha attempted to retake Edessa from Count Baldwin. This unsuccessful siege lasted three weeks, during which time the Crusaders took Antioch. However, Kür-Bugha did arrive with an impressive army, having been joined by some other [illegible] at Marj Dabiq he was also joined by contingents from Homs, Damascus and Diyarbakr. The [illegible] army probably reached the river Orontes at the Iron Bridge [illegible] appearing before Crusader-held Antioch four days later.

Some historians estimate that the Crusaders were down to [illegible] properly mounted knights, the rest being obliged to fight on foot alongside the infantry. This might be an exaggeration, but the greater proportion of the army that challenged Kür-Bugha was on foot. This [illegible] though [illegible] did not destroy the [illegible] of the knights.

According to the [illegible] captured Crusader weapons were shown to Kür-Bugha before the battle, including [illegible] sword covered with rust [illegible] Kür-Bugha had wondered how [illegible] composite [illegible] and a spear which was quite useless. Furthermore the alliance between Byzantines, Crusaders and Armenians had largely evaporated after the [illegible] the Crusader host was now on its own.

'The Betrayal' in an Armenian Gospel made in AD1057. (Ms. 362.G, Patriarchal Library, Etchmiadzin)



The confrontation that followed was remarkable because the Crusaders won despite being in an apparently hopeless situation. Ibn al-Athir even wrote that some Crusader leaders tried to make a deal with Kür-Bugha before the battle in return for being allowed to go home. Much of the Crusader host was, however, now in a state of religious excitement that had been increased, though not caused, by the finding of the so-called 'Holy Lance' on 14 June. The significance of this object was certainly emphasised in later accounts of the victory. Divisions between rich and poor were breaking down in this extraordinary atmosphere and the Crusader host was becoming a religiously motivated horde.

More prosaically, the unfortunate Kür-Bugha was abandoned by many of his allies for reasons of short-sighted Saljuq internal rivalry. There were tensions between Turcoman and Arab nomad troops within his army as well as mistrust between Turks and Arabic-speaking urban Muslims. Of course Kür-Bugha tried to impose discipline on his fragmented forces and probably believed that by defeating the invaders he could unite the other Saljuq governors behind him.

The courtyard of the Jami'a or Congregational Mosque of Ma'arat al-Nu'man in Syria. Most of what is seen here dates from before the First Crusade. (Author's photograph)

On 5 June Kür-Bugha's army established camp near the Kara Su stream north of Antioch, perhaps around a spring or well that still exists. By 7 June his troops had forced Crusader outposts back inside the city. Next day Kür-Bugha led a substantial force [illegible] the hills to contact the Saljuq garrison still holding the Citadel. A flanking attack by Crusader [illegible] prevented [illegible] for the next few days Saljuq troops tried to retake the [illegible] from the Citadel. Since they could not advance directly down [illegible] tried to work [illegible] was along the fortifications [illegible] constructed a rough stone wall almost certainly [illegible] south of the [illegible] edge of the cliff. This stopped the Turks from outflanking the Crusaders' hold on the wall. On [illegible] Kür-Bugha abandoned this attempt and returned to lower ground where his troops completed [illegible] the city. Like the [illegible] they concentrated on the [illegible] and western walls while sending one contingent to block the Gate of St George.

The defeat of Kür-Bugha

Bohemond of Taranto was supervising command when the Crusaders decided to challenge Kür-Bugha in the open. It was a remarkable decision dictated as much by the Crusaders' [illegible] as their low supplies. Bohemond expected a very hard fight and held back much of the Crusaders' strength as a reserve. Meanwhile Raymond of Toulouse and part of the Provençal contingent remained on Mount Silpius to ensure that the Citadel garrison did not take part in the battle.

Early on 28 June 1098 most of the Crusader host emerged from the Bridge Gate headed by Godfrey of Bouillon and the other [illegible]

OPPOSITE The island of Arwad, three kilometres from the Syrian coast facing the city of Tartus. (Author's photograph)

French contingents. They were attacked by Turkish units facing this gate and the fact that Hugh of Vermandois could counter-attack suggests he had many of the Crusaders' remaining cavalry under his command. Kur-Bugha now called off the Turkish attack, a decision [illegible] here [illegible] a result of Hugh of Vermandois' counter-stroke. Some sources indicate that he wanted to get all the Crusaders outside Antioch so that he could then destroy them entirely. This would have avoided a prolonged siege with the tensions that could impose on his fragile coalition, but although it was a tactically astute decision it was politically misguided.

According to Ibn al-Athir, writing a century later, Janah al-Dawla of Homs and Sokmen Ibn Artuk, who held Diyarbakr, Suruç and Jerusalem, had been placed in ambush. It is possible that instead of simply calling off the initial attack, Kur-Bugha planned a traditional feigned retreat to lure the Crusader host into this ambush. Perhaps Janah and Sokmen were positioned outside the Dog and St Paul's gates. Ibn al-Athir indicates that [illegible] so-called 'rebel' amirs used this withdrawal as an opportunity to abandon the field, but suggests that the rulers of Homs and Jerusalem were amongst the last to flee. Ibn al-Athir went on to say that 'The only Muslims to stand firm were a detachment [illegible] from the Holy Land [Palestine] who fought to [illegible] God's favour and to seek martyrdom.' Such religiously motivated volunteers would have been almost entirely on foot and so had little chance of escape.

ABOVE 'A Soldier of the Betrayal' on the early 12th-century bronze *Font de Notre Dame des Fonts* (in situ Church of St Barthélemy, Liège)

Bohemond could not send his whole force forward as the enemy withdrew. Since most of the Crusaders were on foot it would have been difficult to pursue the Turks anyway. The small Saljuq unit watching the Gate of St George now moved around to support those outside the Bridge Gate. They were driven back by Renard of Toul's contingent, which was part of the reserve. Saljuq cavalry probably moved across the Crusader front around this time to stop a flanking move by Bishop Adhémar or as part of the plot to abandon Kür-Bugha. Adhémar's southern French contingent was clearly slowed down by piecemeal attacks. This left much of the Islamic infantry to face the main Crusader force that now advanced.

It may have been at this stage that some religiously inflamed Crusaders saw what they interpreted as celestial warriors on the neighbouring hills, coming to support Christ's soldiers. Such stories would obviously have been emphasised later to explain the enemy's otherwise unaccountable flight. The exact course of events is impossible to ascertain, yet it seems that the withdrawing Saljuq cavalry contingents crossed the Wadi al-Qifaysha and made a stand on a low hill. They were driven off and it was probably during an increasingly disorganised retreat that some tried to set fire to the dry grass to slow the Crusader pursuit.

Bishop Adhémar's contingent presumably reached the Wadi al-Qifaysha, threatening the flank of Kür-Bugha's contingent which was now advancing. What happened next is even less clear. Either Kür-Bugha's followers retreated in disorder when they saw so much of the allied army abandoning the field or some of them were actually involved in the plot to betray Kür-Bugha. Both seem unlikely as Kür-Bugha's contingent probably consisted of his own elite *askar* of *ghulams* or *mamluks*, plus Turcoman levies and militia infantry who would have had little hope of escape if abandoned by their cavalry. Whatever really happened, Kür-Bugha withdrew hastily after setting fire to his camp. Seeing the collapse of the allied army, the garrison in the Citadel of Antioch surrendered, perhaps tricked by Raymond of Toulouse.

ABOVE **Foot soldiers armed with spears and large round shields, on Norman late 11th- or early 12th-century carved capital. (In situ parish church, Rucqueville; author's photograph)**

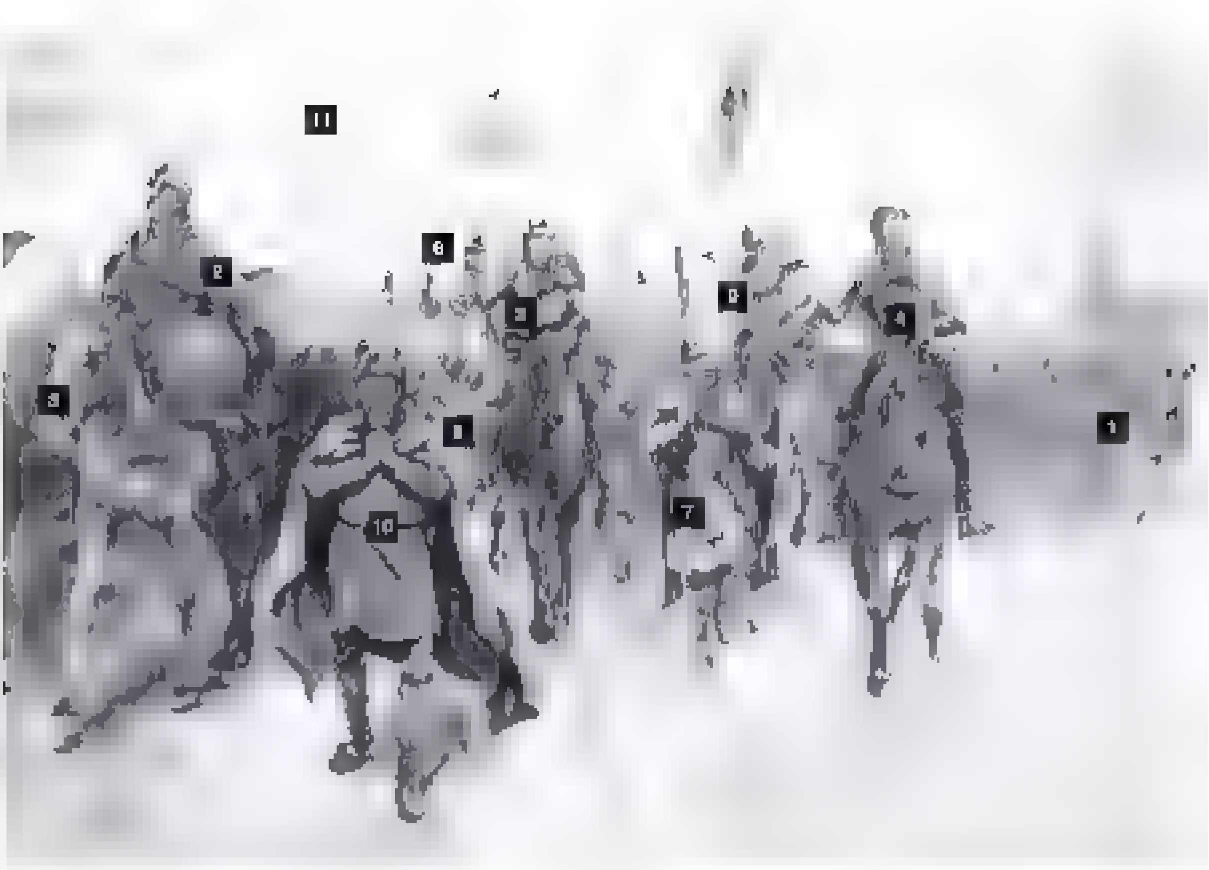
When the Crusaders entered Kür-Bugha's camp they reportedly massacred those who remained. Bohemond also seized Kür-Bugha's [illegible] house as a trophy. On the other hand, the [illegible] Francorum refers to many elite *ghulams* as being captured. The [illegible] described three [illegible]. They feared neither spears nor arrows nor any other weapon for they and their horses are covered all over with plates of iron [illegible] armour for man and horse. Some converted to Christianity and [illegible] disappeared later in the story of the First Crusade, as did certain Jews who were captured either in Antioch or Kür-Bugha's camp.

RIGHT A warrior saint, probably St George on an 11th-century wall painting in one of the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia, perhaps made under early Seljuq Turkish rule. (In situ 'Serpent Church' Göreme; author's photograph)

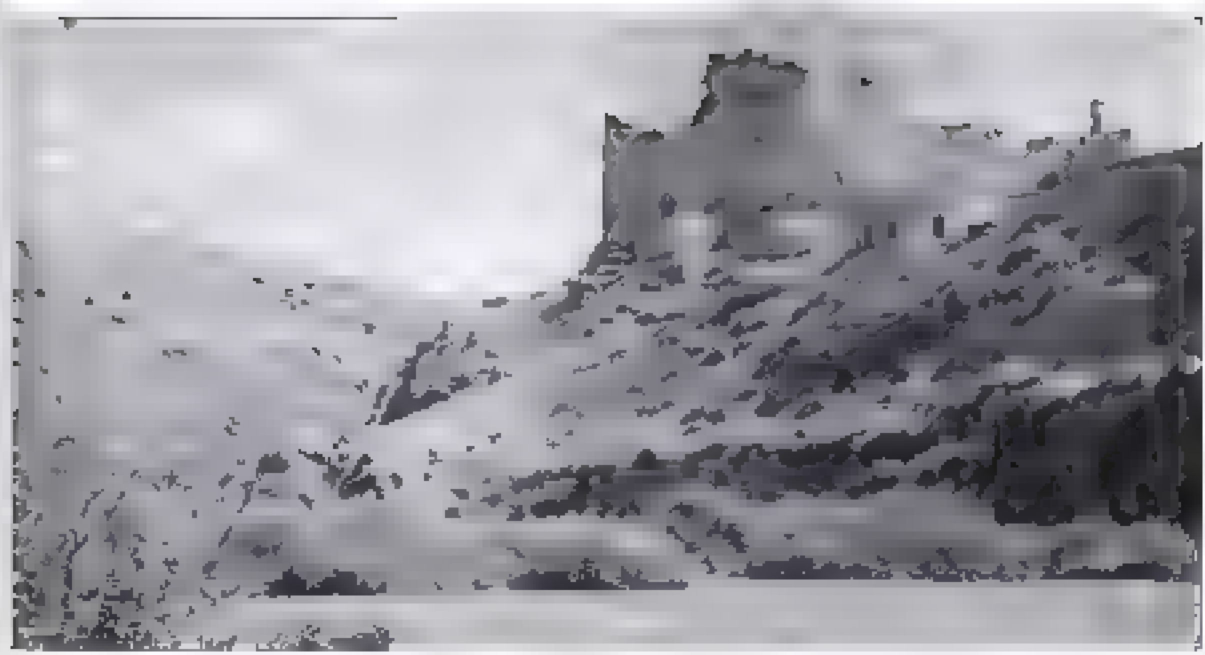
THE MARCH ON JERUSALEM

The deaths of a large number of Muslim foot soldiers outside the Holy Land [illegible] Antioch would have caused [illegible] in Jerusalem [illegible] and particularly Saljuq Turkish rule was not popular in Palestine and Sokman ibn Artuk may well have been blamed for deserting [illegible]. The Fatimid government [illegible] to take advantage of Saljuq difficulties and so the Grand Vizier al-Afdal led his own [illegible] to seize Jerusalem.

According to Ibn al-Qalanisi al-Afdal made camp and demanded that Sokman ibn Artuk surrender Jerusalem without warfare or shedding of blood. When the Turks refused he attacked with many mangonels and breached the wall, whereupon Sokman surrendered. The account states that the fighting went on for more than six weeks and [illegible] al-Afdal's mangonels made breach some fortifications is part of growing evidence that some form of counterweight trebuchet was known earlier than is generally believed. Al-Maqrizi [illegible]



THE BATTLE OUTSIDE ANTIOCH (pages 62–63)
When the Crusader army emerged from Antioch under the overall command of Bohemond of Taranto, the Seljuq commander Kür-Bugha ordered his men not to attack them in force. Instead they were to wait until all the enemy were outside the shelter of Antioch's walls. Kür-Bugha may have been hoping to draw the Crusader force into a classic ambush, using feigned retreat tactics, and would almost certainly have tried to separate the Crusaders' cavalry from their infantry. He then seems to have been betrayed by several subordinate commanders who feared that victory would make Kür-Bugha too powerful. In fact the Crusader army now contained so few horses that there were virtually no cavalry units to detach from the foot soldiers who, by this time, formed the vast majority of the Christian horde (1). Troops from southern France (2) seem to have been in a better state than most others, probably because they formed part of the well-organised army of Raymond of Toulouse. Raymond was also rich and seems to have been able to obtain some horses locally (3). Since so much horse-harness had been abandoned during the Crusaders' appalling trek across the Anatolian mountains, many would now have been using Middle Eastern saddles and bridles. Some northern French (4), Lotharingians (5) and Italo-Normans (6) also had horses, but a great many knights now fought on foot (7), alongside archers (8) and others who had walked all the way from Western Europe. At the same time there is strong evidence that captured Middle Eastern weaponry, such as the typical Islamic mace (9), was being used. Under normal circumstances the outnumbered and half starved Christians should have lost. This was not, however, a normal battle. A large part of the Islamic army abandoned the field without a fight while most of the Crusaders seemed to have been in a state of almost hysterical religious intoxication (10). After victory was won, many Crusaders reported seeing white angelic horsemen in the clouds above the battle (11), which would, from their fanatical point of view, have accounted for the seemingly 'miraculous' panic that gripped their Muslim foes. (Christa Hook)



The citadel of Shayzar, overlooking the river Orontes in central Syria. (Author's photograph)

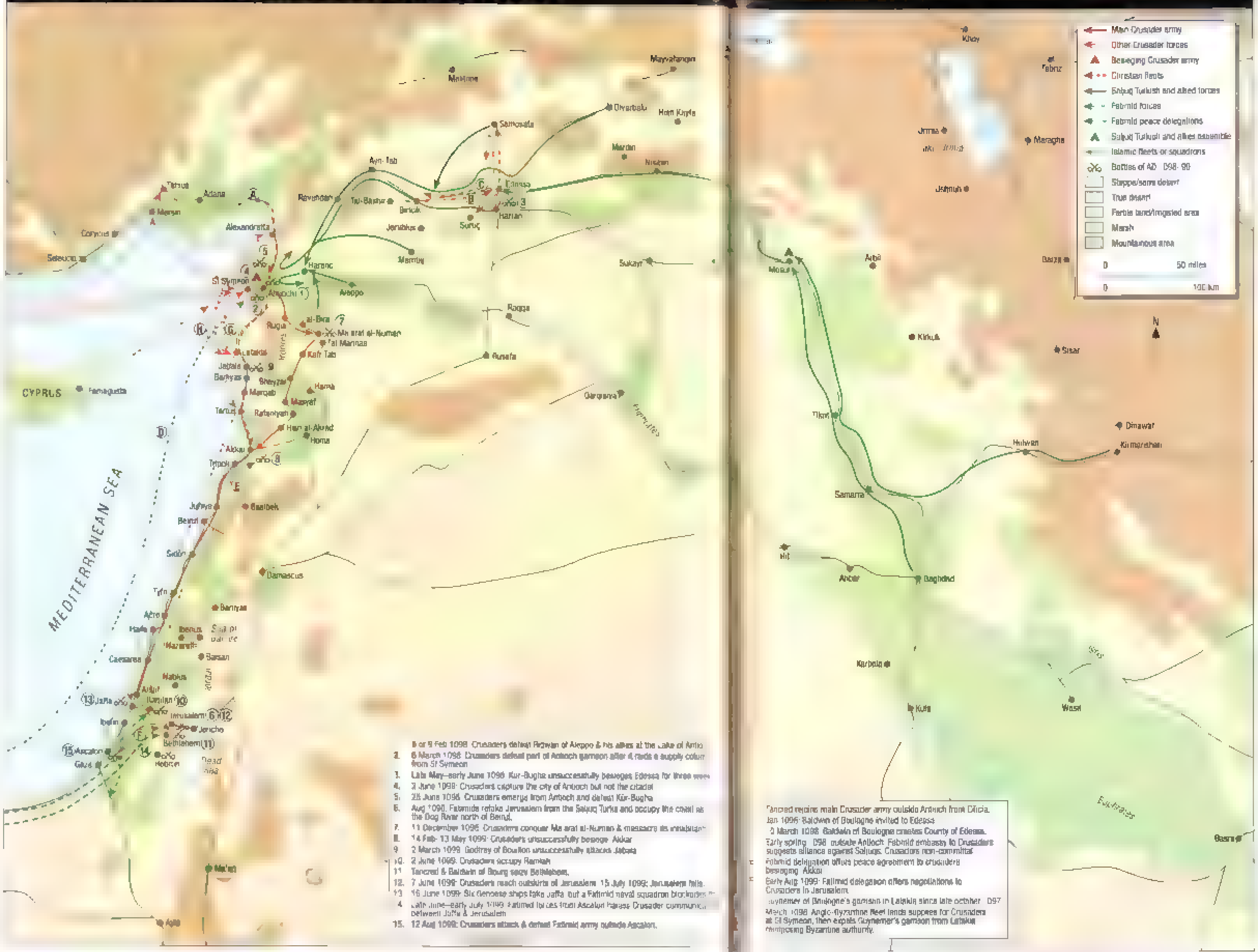
of these events wrote that al-Afdal recovered the Holy [illegible] from the Armenians, perhaps indicating that the Saljuq garrison included Christian Armenians.

The Saljuq commanders were well treated and allowed to go free, travelling [illegible] Damascus and across the Euphrates to [illegible] [illegible] possession, Al-Afdal took his army back to Egypt, but [illegible] Iftikhar al-Dawla as the Fatimid governor of Jerusalem with a small garrison of Sudanese infantry plus [illegible] 400 elite cavalry. Iftikhar was also instructed to repair the damaged fortifications. [illegible] that appears to have been taken from a [illegible] governor in [illegible] [illegible] Sidon [illegible] in 1098. It is also [illegible] that the Fatimid garrison of Acre in 1098 probably included Armenians [illegible] of their officers was Bahram [illegible] an Armenian [illegible] Tal Bashir [illegible] later became the Fatimid Caliph's Christian Grand Vizier.

Apparently the Fatimids still regarded the Saljuqs as a greater threat than the Crusaders. In the event [illegible] Fatimids in coastal cities were [illegible] to make their own arrangements when the Crusaders crossed the Fatimid frontier at the Dog River (Nahr al-Kalb) [illegible] the garrison [illegible] [illegible] Crusaders had attacked [illegible] Al-Afdal [illegible] of Jaffa.

The Crusaders now [illegible] Antioch [illegible] December 1098. [illegible] Saljuqs [illegible] would have [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] The [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] Anatolia [illegible] Crusaders [illegible] Antioch [illegible] themselves [illegible] cavalry [illegible] small [illegible] 1500 reinforcements arriving at Saint Symeon in August, though most were died of disease.

CAMPAIGNS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE, AD1097-98



1. 8 or 9 Feb 1098: Crusaders defeat Ridwan of Aleppo & his allies at the Lake of Antio
2. 6 March 1098: Crusaders defeat part of Antioch garrison after it raids a supply colum from St Symeon
3. Late May–early June 1098: Kür-Bugha unsuccessfully besieges Edessa for three wee
4. 3 June 1098: Crusaders capture the city of Antioch but not the citadel
5. 28 June 1098: Crusaders emerge from Antioch and defeat Kür-Bugha
6. Aug 1098: Fatimids retake Jerusalem from the Saljuq Turks and occupy the coast as the Dog River north of Beirut.
7. 11 December 1098: Crusaders conquer Ma'arat al-Numan & massacre its inhabitan
8. 14 Feb–13 May 1099: Crusaders unsuccessfully besiege Akkar
9. 2 March 1099: Godfrey of Bouillon unsuccessfully attacks Jabala
10. 2 June 1099: Crusaders occupy Ramlah
11. Tancred & Baldwin of Bourg seize Bethlehem.
12. 7 June 1099: Crusaders reach outskirts of Jerusalem. 15 July 1099: Jerusalem falls.
13. 16 June 1099: Six Genoese ships take Jaffa but a Fatimid naval squadron blockades
14. Late June–early July 1099: Fatimid forces from Ascalon harass Crusader communic between Jaffa & Jerusalem
15. 12 Aug 1099: Crusaders attack & defeat Fatimid army outside Ascalon.

Tancred rejoins main Crusader army outside Antioch from Cilicia.
Jan 1098: Baldwin of Boulogne invited to Edessa
9 March 1098: Baldwin of Boulogne creates County of Edessa.
Early spring 1098: outside Antioch, Fatimid embassy to Crusaders suggests alliance against Saljuqs. Crusaders non-committal.
Fatimid delegation offers peace agreement to Crusaders besieging Akkar
Early Aug 1099: Fatimid delegation offers negotiations to Crusaders in Jerusalem.
Guynemer of Boulogne's garrison in Latakia since late October 1097
March 1098: Anglo-Byzantine fleet lands supplies for Crusaders at St Symeon, then expels Guynemer's garrison from Latakia reimposing Byzantine authority.

Huntsman fighting a lion and using his cloak as a shield on an 11th- or 12th-century carved ivory panel, probably from Egypt. (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; author's photograph)

Fully armoured Norman-French knight in a Norman manuscript from Bec made in AD1 [illegible]. (Ms. BPL 20, f. [illegible], University Library, Leiden)

Negotiations with [illegible] showed [illegible] was [illegible] armed [illegible] Messengers [illegible] Damascus [illegible] though [illegible] from [illegible] The [illegible] governor [illegible] who had rebelled against Ridwan of [illegible] accepted [illegible] Bouillon [illegible] military support.

Many ordinary [illegible] however [illegible] When a [illegible] was seized [illegible] Christian priests baptised dying Muslims after battle [illegible] When Raymond of Toulouse captured al-Bara [illegible] the population was slaughtered [illegible] The Byzantines expected Bohemond [illegible] and [illegible] Bohemond [illegible] expelled [illegible] Raymond of Toulouse by force.

[illegible] capture of [illegible] which [illegible] episodes [illegible] of the First Crusade [illegible] some of the [illegible] defenders, probably [illegible] professional [illegible] abandoned the [illegible] defenders [illegible] abandon [illegible] wall and fall back [illegible] Many crusaders were now [illegible] appeared [illegible] two leaders [illegible] gave their [illegible]

[illegible] the Crusade's senior leadership had seemingly used up almost all their resources. A famine [illegible] in December 1098 contributed to the general hysteria.

Several Arab or Islamic sources recorded the events at Ma'arrat al-Nu'man with obvious horror, including Ibn al-Adim. [illegible] great-grandfather [illegible] under [illegible]. This prevented people from getting water [illegible]. Many of the people died of thirst. A surviving letter [illegible] devastation. My [illegible] destroyed. [illegible] Another [illegible] wild beast or is my home my native town.

A month later Raymond of Toulouse headed south at the head of thousands of people, including a large number of the Crusade's poor. The rulers of Shaizar and Hims [illegible] hundreds of [illegible] and give them free passage and even supplies. In February Raymond besieged the northern town of 'Arqa whose garrison [illegible]. Three days later Raymond [illegible] Peter [illegible] the coastal town of Tortosa, whereupon the nearby castle of Marqab also surrendered. [illegible] crusaders [illegible] further south Christian ships would be [illegible].

Many Crusader rank-and-file now suspected their leaders of land grabbing. There is strong evidence that Raymond [illegible] wanted to carve out a state for himself based upon [illegible] Raymond probably also felt he had to take 'Arqa because [illegible] he was deep in [illegible] territory [illegible] was getting close to the Fatimid frontier. In February a great [illegible] was seen in the sky, again heightening religious fervour [illegible] Anglo-Saxon crews of the remaining one or two Byzantine ships burned their vessels and joined the march south. [illegible] were also [illegible] the

The 'Four Nourias' or medieval waterwheels powered by the River Orontes, on the northern outskirts of the Syrian city of Hama. (Author's photograph)

'Soldiers of the Crucifixion', in a Byzantine wall painting made in the 10th century. (In situ Tokali Kilise no.7, Göreme; author's photograph)

[illegible] g[illegible]s of Godfrey of Bouillon, Robert of Flanders and Bohemond of Taranto. [illegible] A[illegible] [illegible] Raymond's [illegible] [illegible] popular pressure and led [illegible] Bohemond [illegible] there and remained [illegible] Antioch.

[illegible] Rome [illegible] Jabala [illegible] this [illegible] for [illegible] Raymond of Toulouse [illegible] an attack outside Akkar [illegible] formed part of the coastal [illegible] Shi'a Arab [illegible] that of Tripoli. Even after these [illegible] Raymond [illegible] Akkar refused [illegible] Another Fatimid embassy now arrived in the Crusader camp.

It now seems that discussions between this Fatimid embassy and the Crusader leadership involved the possibility of joint operations against the Saljuqs and [illegible] restoration [illegible] the Fatimid Caliphate in return for the Christians gaining Jerusalem. At the time the Fatimid government seems to have been [illegible] a battle with the Crusaders against the Turks and [illegible] the Turks against the Crusaders. One Crusader source even suggests [illegible] Saljuq leaders offered to pay tribute [illegible] the Fatimids [illegible] for an alliance and [illegible] worship [illegible] Shi'a [illegible] than Sunni Muslims. [illegible] the religious [illegible] that was [illegible] the Crusader rank-and-file made an accommodation with the Fatimids impossible. On 13 March 1099 the investment of Akkar was raised and the Crusader host resumed its trek southwards.

The [illegible] along [illegible] the narrow coastal [illegible] that placed the towering mountains of Lebanon between the invaders and the powerful *amir* of Damascus. The ruler of Tripoli supposedly agreed that if the Crusaders defeated the Fatimids, he would convert to Christianity and hold his lands under Crusader suzerainty. Though [illegible]

OPPOSITE 'David returning with the head of Goliath' in a Byzantine Psalter made around AD1088. The young warrior is on horseback, as was occasionally the case in Eastern Christian art. (Codex 761, f. 13r, Vatopedi Monastery Library, Mount Athos)

The Lebanese coast just outside Beirut. Here there is no coastal plain and the north-south road runs right along the shore. (Author's photograph)

should not be taken seriously, part of an otherwise lost chronicle stated that an envoy from the qadi of Tripoli accompanied Raymond of Toulouse to around Caesarea via Jaffa which lies further south.

After crossing the Dog river north of Beirut the Crusaders entered Fatimid territory, where several local governors supplied the intruders with money, food and guides in return for no damage to the surrounding agricultural area. But the Fatimid governor of Sidon refused to cooperate and his garrison attacked the Crusader host when it looted local villages. The towns further south generally followed the example of Beirut and [illegible] the Crusaders reached Acre they seem to have learned a lot about local religious and political rivalries. However, the fact that Bahram al-Armani, a Christian Armenian officer in Fatimid service (see p.65) felt it necessary to escape the Franks at Acre suggests tensions within these coastal garrisons.

Reaching Arsuf in early June, the Crusaders turned inland. A weak Fatimid garrison at Jaffa attempted to raze their fortifications before retreating to Ascalon, though [illegible] evacuated by their Muslim inhabitants before the Crusaders arrived. On [illegible] arrived outside Jerusalem itself on the 7th.

By violating the Fatimid frontier the Crusaders were [illegible] was normally based at naval bases at Cairo, Alexandria, Damietta and Tinnis in Egypt, with other smaller squadrons based in Ascalon and Acre, and occasionally at Tyre and Beirut on the Palestine-Lebanon coast. [illegible] Crusader host but only sailed as far as Tartus. South of Tripoli any Crusader ships would also be unable to come [illegible] of being attacked by local garrisons. In fact, when the army [illegible] have withdrawn to Crusader-held Tartus and Byzantine-held Latakia. [illegible] still in Islamic hands and would remain so until [illegible]. The Pisan fleet that clashed with the Byzantines on its [illegible] Bohemond, now the Prince of Antioch, in unsuccessfully attacking Byzantine Latakia.

The Saljuq rulers of northern Syria had also continued their self-destroying quarrelling. Ridwan of Aleppo felt particularly vulnerable, with the Crusaders of Antioch as one neighbour and Janah al-Dawla of Hims as another. The Artuqid governor of Diyarbakr summoned Sokman Ibn Artuk, late governor of Jerusalem, to help him against Kerbogha who may have been trying to establish a dominant position following his defeat outside Antioch. In the event Sokman Ibn Artuk was driven off. It seemed, in fact, to be business as usual.

Easter celebrations in the early medieval Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

Jerusalem in 1099 was a thriving city, though it was no longer as large nor as important as it had been in early Islamic times. After a period of decline it had revived in the 10th century under Fatimid rule. The city's Jewish population had also expanded, especially the Karaite or non-orthodox community which was almost the size of the Rabbinical or [illegible] of the Jewish population, [illegible] and those that [illegible] returned [illegible] the Fatimids retook it in 1098. A [illegible] later the Crusaders [illegible] destroyed the community entirely.

A major earthquake had hit much of Jerusalem in 1033, destroying many of its fortifications. The Fatimid government immediately rebuilt them, often using material from ruined churches, but also reduced the area enclosed by these defences. As a result the old Jewish quarter south of the Temple Mount was now outside the new fortifications so the Jews were relocated to a new area in the north-eastern corner of Jerusalem. This was still called the Jewish Quarter under Crusader rule, though it was no longer Jewish. The Christians were allocated the north-western corner of Jerusalem while Muslims lived in the southern part of the city.

Much of south-eastern Jerusalem consisted of the vast Haram al-Sharif which was a religious rather than a residential or commercial area. Several Christian monasteries were built near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre under Fatimid rule but the following brief period of Saljuq occupation was a time of disruption, [illegible] and persecution, not only of Christians and Jews but also of Shi'a Muslims.

As the Crusaders first approached, the governor of Jerusalem, Iftikhar al-Dawla, took precautionary measures, though he may not have been certain the Crusaders would attack. He poisoned the wells outside [illegible] the cisterns [illegible] water, and had animal herds driven out of range so they could not be seized as food [illegible] other means [illegible] defensive [illegible] hidden somewhere in caves. Most of the Christian population of Jerusalem was also temporarily expelled from Jerusalem, though the Jews remained to help in its defence.

This expulsion of Christians caused [illegible] the Fatimid garrison included Armenian soldiers. Many senior Christian figures were already absent, having fled the Saljuqs and not yet returned. Some [illegible] remained, including Gerard, later called The Blessed, who was in charge of the Amalfitan hospice in Jerusalem. He [illegible] throughout the siege and was still there when the Crusaders took over. [illegible] Iftikhar al-Dawla [illegible] apparently [illegible] real, so he began [illegible] he hoped to raise the siege of Jerusalem.

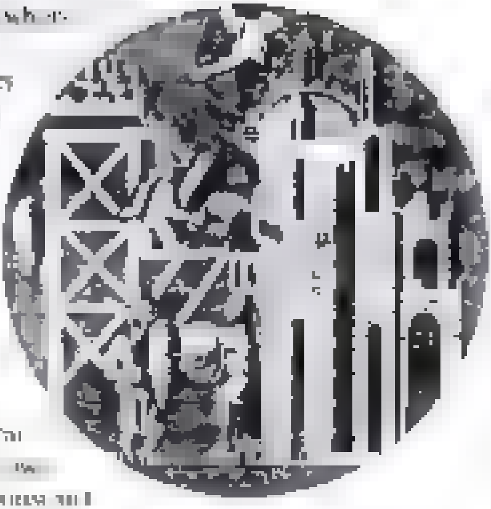
As the Crusaders assembled outside Jerusalem, they [illegible] 900–1,300 knights, plus a far greater number of male and female non-combatants. Though the Crusader host was far larger than the defending garrison and militia they could not surround the entire city without spreading their fighting men too thinly. So the Crusaders' divisions formed up around the northwestern corner of Jerusalem, with Raymond of Toulouse on the right, Godfrey and Tancred in the centre, Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders on the left.

Their first attack on 13 June was pressed with fanatical [illegible] accord. They were, however, so short of [illegible] that they could [illegible] been held back at this stage.

[illegible] and cumbersome. These were normally assembled on [illegible] Crusaders' archers and crossbowmen.

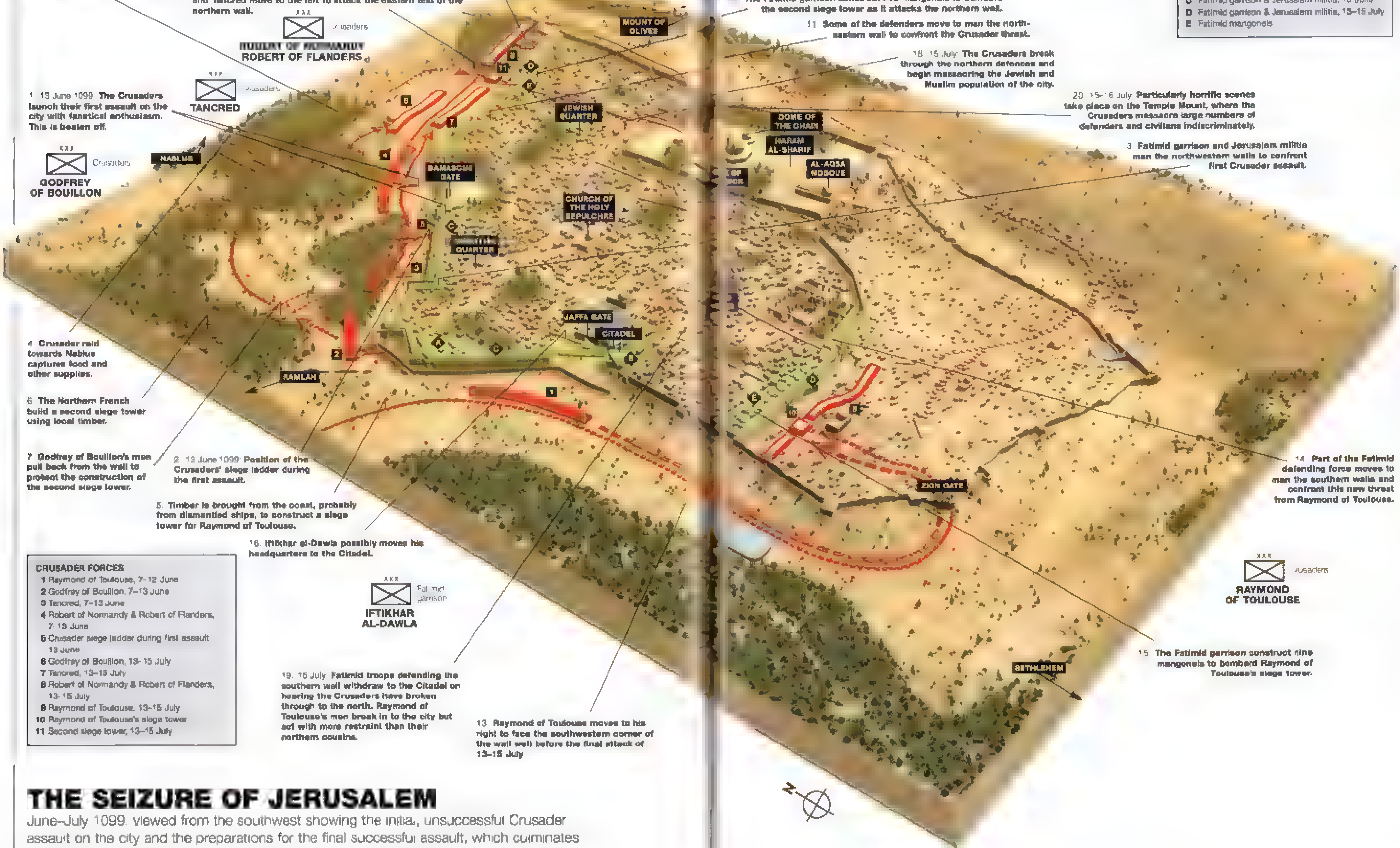
[illegible] however, were materials to construct siege machines.

[illegible]



The Crusaders' capture of Jerusalem, as illustrated in the lost early 12th-century stained-glass windows of St Denis, Paris.

The Old City of Jerusalem seen from the southwest before the Israeli occupation of 1967



1 13 June 1099 **The Crusaders launch their first assault on the city with fanatical enthusiasm. This is beaten off.**

2 13 June 1099 **Position of the Crusaders' siege ladder during the first assault.**

3 **Fatimid garrison and Jerusalem militia man the northwestern walls to confront first Crusader assault.**

4 **Crusader raid towards Nablus captures food and other supplies.**

5 **Timber is brought from the coast, probably from dismantled ships, to construct a siege tower for Raymond of Toulouse.**

6 **The Northern French build a second siege tower using local timber.**

7 **Godfrey of Bouillon's men pull back from the wall to protect the construction of the second siege tower.**

8 8 July 1099 **The entire Crusader army walks around Jerusalem in a religious procession culminating in sermons on the Mount of Olives.**

9 9/10 July 1099 **During the night the second siege tower is moved to its attack position for the final assault.**

0 **Godfrey of Bouillon, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders and Tancred move to the left to attack the eastern end of the northern wall.**

The Fatimid garrison construct five mangonels to bombard the second siege tower as it attacks the northern wall.

11 **Some of the defenders move to man the north-eastern wall to confront the Crusader threat.**

13 **Raymond of Toulouse moves to his right to face the southwestern corner of the wall well before the final attack of 13–15 July**

14 **Part of the Fatimid defending force moves to man the southern walls and confront this new threat from Raymond of Toulouse.**

15 **The Fatimid garrison construct nine mangonels to bombard Raymond of Toulouse's siege tower.**

16 **Iftikhar al-Dawla possibly moves his headquarters to the Citadel.**

7 13–15 July **The Crusaders launch their final assault on the northern wall, eventually gaining a foothold on 15 July.**

18 15 July **The Crusaders break through the northern defences and begin massacring the Jewish and Muslim population of the city.**

19 15 July **Fatimid troops defending the southern wall withdraw to the Citadel on hearing the Crusaders have broken through to the north. Raymond of Toulouse's men break in to the city but act with more restraint than their northern cousins.**

20 15–16 July **Particularly horrific scenes take place on the Temple Mount, where the Crusaders massacre large numbers of defenders and civilians indiscriminately.**

CRUSADER FORCES

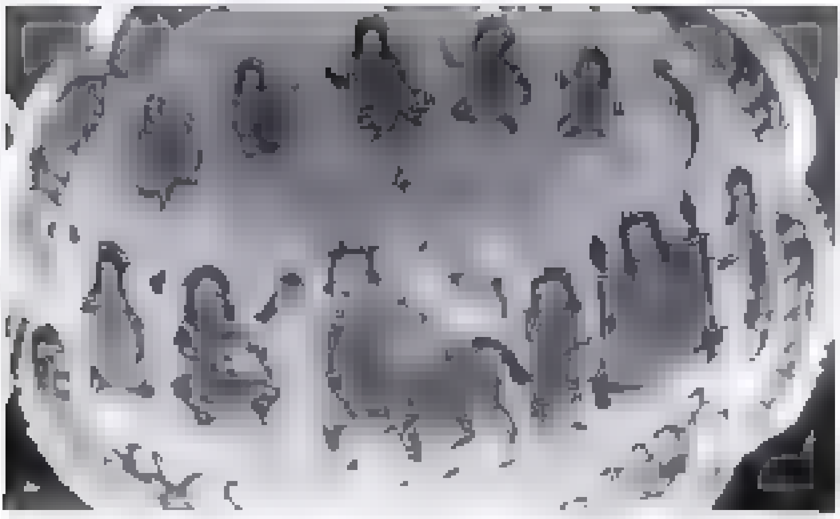
1 Raymond of Toulouse, 7–12 June
2 Godfrey of Bouillon, 7–13 June
3 Tancred, 7–13 June
4 Robert of Normandy & Robert of Flanders, 7–13 June
5 Crusader siege ladder during first assault 13 June
6 Godfrey of Bouillon, 13–15 July
7 Tancred, 13–15 July
8 Robert of Normandy & Robert of Flanders, 13–15 July
9 Raymond of Toulouse, 13–15 July
10 Raymond of Toulouse's siege tower
11 Second siege tower, 13–15 July

FATIMID FORCES

A Iftikhar al-Dawla's first headquarters
B Iftikhar al-Dawla's headquarters in the Citadel
C Fatimid garrison & Jerusalem militia, 13 June
D Fatimid garrison & Jerusalem militia, 13–15 July
E Fatimid mangonels

THE SEIZURE OF JERUSALEM

June–July 1099, viewed from the southwest showing the initial, unsuccessful Crusader assault on the city and the preparations for the final successful assault, which culminates in a horrific massacre of the Muslim and Jewish populations of the city.



An enthroned prince with his attendants and a horseman, on a Saljuq Turkish painted ceramic from Iran, dating from the 12th or early 13th century. (Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran; author's photograph)

supplies [illegible] [illegible] they had not [illegible] however [illegible] squadron [illegible] appeared off Jaffa. The Christian ships [illegible] escaped [illegible] using both sails and oars, but the others were trapped within the harbour.

A [illegible] the Crusader leaders [illegible] ship squadron [illegible] leaders [illegible] the [illegible] remaining suitable [illegible] timber [illegible] during [illegible] was [illegible] Genoese sailors dismantled their vessels, took the most useful pieces of timber to Jerusalem and burned the rest.

One of these Genoese [illegible] was an engineer and he supervised the construction of a [illegible] siege tower for Raymond of Toulouse [illegible] the Genoese ships and their cargo [illegible] similarly constructed [illegible] Godfrey of Bouillon. The Genoese were of course [illegible] skilled in timber and rope technology, though Muslim captives did much of the heavy work.

Now Godfrey and the other crusader commanders along the northern wall of Jerusalem [illegible] siege tower like that being constructed for Raymond, but they lacked suitable wood. Timber-cutters were sent north to the area around Nablus [illegible] how much was found, though a foraging [illegible] in this direction did [illegible] and then the Crusaders had a stroke of luck. Tancred, who was suffering from dysentery, went into a cave to relieve himself in private and there found a store of timber previously hidden by the Fatimid authorities. Consequently a second siege tower was constructed under the protection of Godfrey of Bouillon.

On 8 July the entire crusader army, including non-combatants, walked round Jerusalem in a procession that culminated in sermons and a religious service on the Mount of Olives. This was [illegible] to seek God's help [illegible] while depressing those of the Muslim and Jewish defenders. Crusader morale was raised, but that of the Fatimid garrison was not diminished.

During the night of [illegible] Godfrey of Bouillon's siege tower was moved in sections to a position facing the [illegible] part of the northern wall. This had [illegible] been [illegible] there is little evidence that it was [illegible] It was, however, as [illegible]

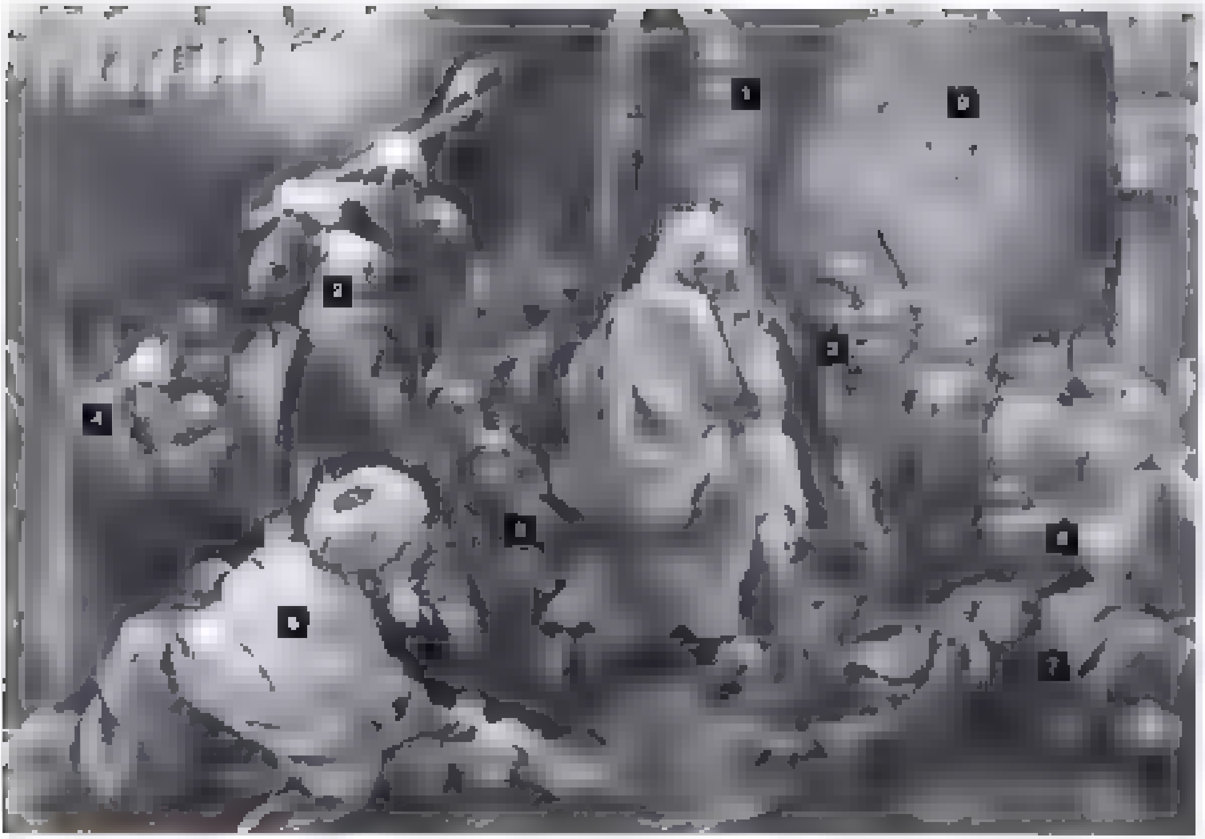
The medieval Laqlaq Tower at the northeastern corner of the walled Old City of Jerusalem.

as possible from the southwestern corner where Count Raymond of Toulouse would attack. Godfrey, Tancred and the two Roberts shifted left while Raymond moved a similar distance to his right. Iftikhar al-Dawla now had to divide his forces and he probably moved his headquarters to a location approximately midway between those units protecting the northeastern and those protecting the southwestern walls.

The sources also indicate that he divided his stone-throwing mangonels, which would have taken some time. The Fatimid garrison must have been aware of the southern threat where Raymond's siege-tower was being constructed. So, when the final attack came, it was opposed by nine mangonels bombarding Raymond's tower and five bombarding the northern siege-tower. The fact that only five faced Godfrey's tower might indicate that moving his tower from its construction site opposite the western end of the northern wall to the eastern end caught the defenders by surprise.

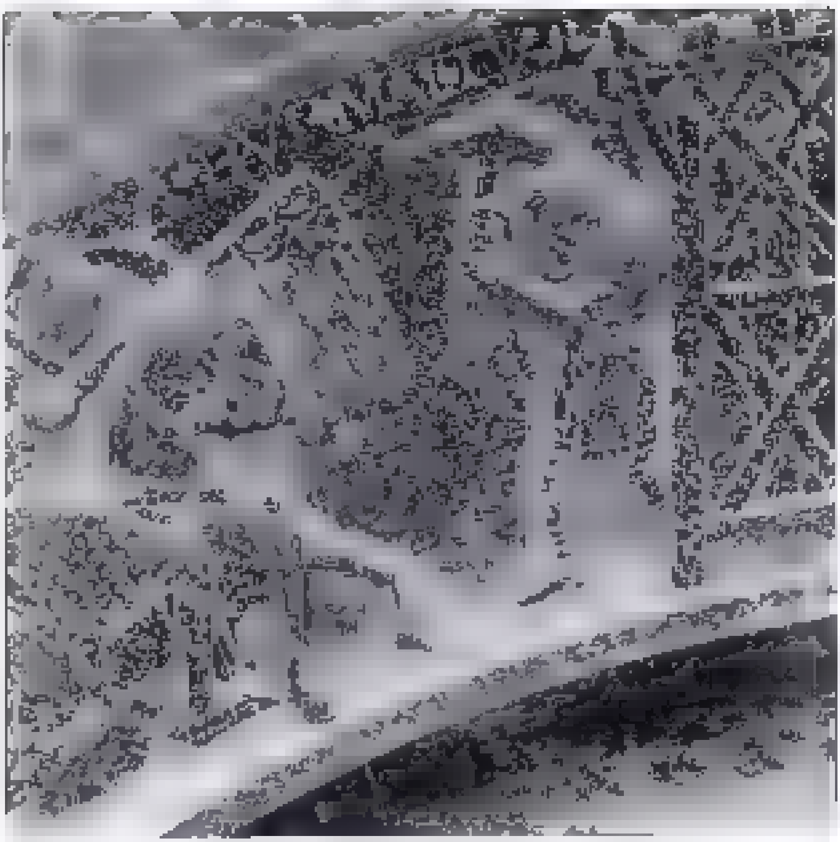
The final assault

The final Crusader assault lasted from 13 to 15 July 1099. The attackers now had stone-throwing engines of their own, reportedly hurling available blocks of marble from ruined buildings, though this should be treated with caution as the missiles thrown by a mangonel had to be of a very specific weight to be accurate. The Crusader archers also shot flaming arrows at sacks stuffed with straw which the defenders used to protect their walls from mangonel attack. As Raymond d'Aguilers stated, 'A young man shot arrows ablaze with fire at the pads against the ramparts of the Saracens which defended against the wooden tower of Godfrey and the two Counts on the north side.' Soon mounting flames drove the defenders from the ramparts. This enabled the Crusaders to get onto the northern wall on 15 July and, according to the Gesta Francorum, a knight named Letold was the first to do so. Once inside the city the attackers went berserk, slaughtering any Muslim or Jew they found. Raymond's Provençals were having a harder time attacking the southern wall. As



THE MASSACRE IN JERUSALEM (pages 78–79)
When the Crusaders broke into Jerusalem many went berserk, slaughtering the Muslim and Jewish inhabitants regardless of age, sex and whether or not they were civilians or soldiers. Some of the worst slaughter took place in and around the Aqsa Mosque on the Haram al-Sharif or what Christians and Jews call the Temple Mount. Defenders who fled to this area were simply massacred along with great numbers of civilians. Most of the killing seems to have been done by northern European Crusaders since it was they who first broke into Jerusalem and first reached the Haram al-Sharif. They included Normans and northern French (2) and men from what are now the Benelux countries, eastern France and western Germany (3). Those who were slaughtered included the urban population of Jerusalem (4), fleeing soldiers (5) and local peasants who had sought safety within Jerusalem (6). Arab and Islamic sources were, however, particularly appalled by the Crusaders' indiscriminate killing of women and children (7), which was totally contrary to Islamic rules of warfare. Muslim religious leaders (8) were also targeted with particular savagery, as the Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athir confirmed: 'In the Masjid al-Aqsa [at the southern end of the Haram al-Sharif] the Franks slaughtered more than 70,000 people, amongst them a large number of Imams and Muslim scholars, devout and ascetic men who had left their homelands to live lives of pious seclusion in the Holy Places. The Franks stripped the Dome of the Rock of more than 40 silver candelabras (9), each of them weighing 3,600 drams, and a great silver lamp weighing 44 Syrian *ratl*, as well as 150 smaller silver candelabra and more than 20 gold ones, as well as a great deal other booty.' Other Islamic religious scholars who somehow escaped the conquerors' initial frenzy were murdered later. One man named al-Rumayli was offered for a ransom of 1,000 dinars, but when this could not be raised the Crusaders stoned him to death several weeks later. What seems so extraordinary from a modern point of view is less the massacre itself, which was carried out in a religious frenzy by men who had themselves suffered enormously on their way to Jerusalem, but the way it was glorified by chroniclers writing after the hysteria had subsided. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* described how the slaughter of Muslims in the 'Temple' was continued on the day after the city fell, killing those who had escaped the carnage inside the Aqsa Mosque: 'In the morning our men climbed up cautiously on to the roof of the Temple and attacked the Saracens, both male and female, and beheaded them with unsheathed swords. The other Saracens threw themselves from the Temple.' (Christa Hook)

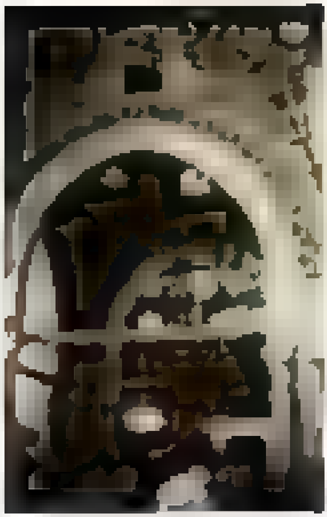
An episode in the 'Story of King Arthur' showing the siege of a castle, on a relief carving dating from the start of the 12th century. (In situ north door of the Cathedral, Modena)



Raymond of Aguilers again recorded: 'As midday came, it was a time of [illegible], a phase of fatigue and hopelessness brought on by the stubborn resistance of many remaining defenders, the tall and seemingly impregnable walls and the overwhelming defensive skills of the defenders. At the very moment when a council debated the wisdom of withdrawing our machines [illegible] since many were burned or badly battered, a knight whose name is unknown to me signalled with his shield from the Mount of Olives to the Count and others to move forward.'

So Raymond's men attacked again and [illegible] the defence collapsed. Ibn al-Athir does, however, indicate that the southern siege tower was burned but that immediately afterwards the northern wall was breached. Its commander asked for help from the southern sector, whereupon the entire defence fell apart. Some troops defending the southern wall [illegible] made to repair their [illegible] khat al-[illegible]. Thus as Ibn al-Athir recorded: 'A band of Muslims barricaded themselves in the [illegible] and fought on for several days. They were granted their lives in return for surrendering. The Franks honoured their word and the group left by night for Ascalon.'

Raymond and his followers behaved better than most Crusaders who broke into the rest of Jerusalem, [illegible] massacring the [illegible]. Raymond took many captive. Others were permitted to leave under safe conduct with what remained of the Fatimid garrison. Around the Mount Zion [illegible] southwestern Jerusalem, other defenders [illegible] refused quarter. Here, according to Raymond d'Aguilers, 'the Saracens fought fiercely with the Count's men, as if they had not been defeated. [illegible] Some of the



[illegible]

[illegible] *a running to and fro of men and knights over the corpses*

[illegible]

[illegible] were forced to clean the bodies of slain Crusaders

[illegible] where the bodies were then burned

[illegible]

THE BATTLE OF ASCALON

[illegible]

Fully armoured cavalry attacking fully armoured infantry on the late 11th-century Anglo-Norman Bayeux Tapestry. (Tapestry Museum, Bayeux)

siege when they learned that a relief force was approaching Ascalon, probably in early July.

The army that assembled outside Ascalon was clearly formidable, though not as large as some Crusader chroniclers suggested. It probably consisted of the professional forces based in Cairo under al-Afdal's immediate command. These, according to Ibn al-Qalanisi, made camp outside Ascalon on 4 August. They were joined by local forces from the Sahil or coastal provinces of Palestine and awaited the arrival of the fleet and the bedouin. The latter were the tribes of southern Palestine which played a leading role in the defence of these regions and would continue to defend Ascalon until it fell to the Crusaders over half a century later. However, the Crusaders attacked al-Afdal before his reinforcements arrived. 'The fleet' probably meant transport ships bringing supplies and materials for siege machinery.

Although the evidence is scanty, the Fatimid army probably camped on the northeastern side of Ascalon where there are sources of drinkable water. Ascalon itself had strong walls pierced by powerful gates. It stood above low cliffs and there was a rather exposed roadstead for shipping immediately north of the city itself. The terrain outside the walls [illegible] sand and sandy scrub with scattered trees, orchards and olive groves. There were also areas of grazing or pasture.

The text of an message that al-Afdal sent to the Crusaders in Jerusalem apparently complained more about the slaughter of local Muslim inhabitants than the Crusaders' seizure of the Holy City. Perhaps the Fatimid vizier thought that a negotiated agreement could still be reached and did not want to break off negotiations entirely. However, the Crusaders were now in a state of religious euphoria. Many of the rank-and-file [illegible] up to the [illegible] Crusader leaders [illegible] al-Afdal's representatives [illegible] march against the Fatimid army [illegible] ambassadors. Non-[illegible]

Raymond of Aguilers [illegible] amongst the Crusaders [illegible] Ascalon [illegible] 20 years of age [illegible] *the young Frankish males with women of* [illegible] *the Frankish women with males of* [illegible] *a warrior race from Frankish stock*. This [illegible] young slaves [illegible] August [illegible] Ascalon. The [illegible] suggests that they [illegible] as well as [illegible] Raymond of Aguilers describes the [illegible]: *The leaders issued a call to the* [illegible] *of Jerusalem in full armour carrying the* [illegible] *and on the same day came to the plains. On the following day,* [illegible] *August, our united armies moved forward in squadrons with guards drawn up on all sides.*

The huge Bab al-Futuh gate in the northern walls of what was the Fatimid palace-city of al-Qahira, or Cairo. It was built between 1087 and 1092 by Badr al-Jamali, predecessor and father of the Grand Vizier al-Afdal. (Author's photograph)

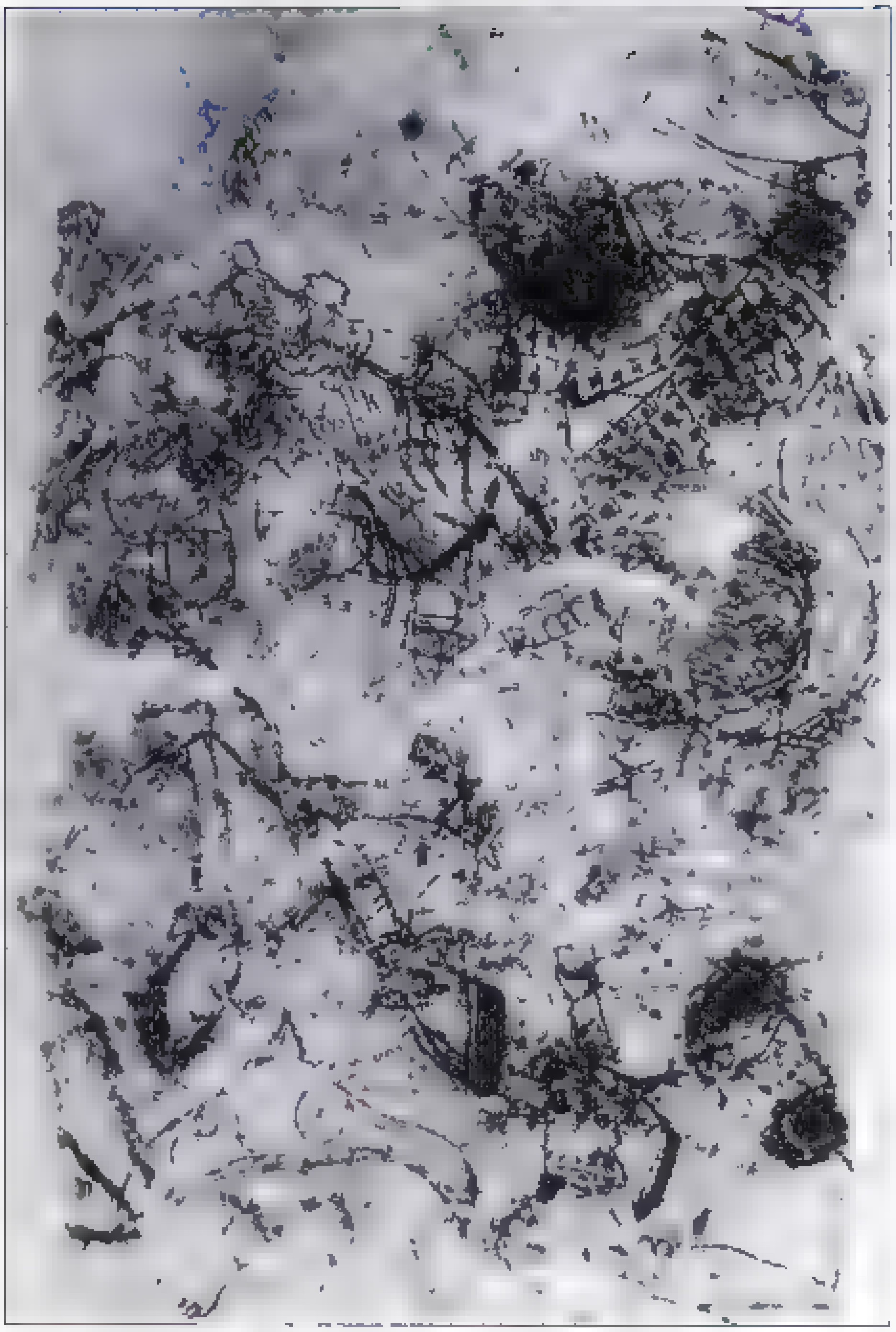
[illegible] the Crusader [illegible] now formed up in what was, for western European [illegible], an unusual array. [illegible] consisted of nine divisions, each apparently [illegible] a three-by-three formation of horse and foot so that [illegible] could face an attack from any direction, a formation that later became a classic Crusader tactic. By the time of the battle of Ascalon the invaders were veterans of warfare against the Turks if not against the Fatimids. However, this early form of fighting march has little in common with Byzantine [illegible] in hostile territory. Rather it seems much closer to a formation used by Turkish and Chinese armies in Central Asia, and perhaps also in Byzantium. Perhaps the three-by-three box was learned from baptised Turks who had been [illegible], some of whom were clearly now with the Crusader host.

The Crusaders made contact with Fatimid outposts late on [illegible] August and captured many of the enemy's flocks near, or more likely south of, Isdud (Ashdod). Raymond d'Aguilers adds details: *As soon as we approached a river which is on the road from Jerusalem to Ascalon, and we saw Arabs pasturing flocks of sheep and large herds of cattle and camels. So we sent two hundred knights to reconnoitre, because the large number of Arabs and livestock made us believe that a fight would ensue. The Arab herdsmen fled at the sight of our knights. Following their flight we seized unbelievable numbers of beasts and killed and captured a few Arabs. Since it was late in the day we pitched camp and there we questioned the captives to reveal their plans, site of fortification and their numbers. Then the captives added that the amir al-Afdal, who was camped five leagues away, would march against us the next day. Orders were given throughout the army that all should be prepared for battle at dawn, that each man join the forces of his leader and that no one should touch booty until after the battle.*

Raymond d'Aguilers' river may have been the [illegible] or [illegible], which are the only streams between Isdud and Ascalon. This would have put the Crusaders' camp [illegible] kilometres north of Ascalon.

By now a substantial Fatimid fleet was probably moored north of Ascalon. On the other hand the Fatimid army was undoubtedly caught unprepared outside the fortified walls of Ascalon as the Crusaders approached, and the Fatimids attempted to form their battle array. The professional soldiers of al-Afdal's army regiments should have had little difficulty doing so, but the army also included the Ascalon militia and local volunteers. One can imagine the confusion caused by large numbers of such untrained soldiers hurrying out of Ascalon and attempting to take their positions north of the city. The Fatimid army was organised and trained along traditional lines developed during the earlier age of the Abbasid Caliphate in the 9th and 10th centuries. These emphasised a formal array, a preference for largely static battle tactics and a considerable reliance upon a [illegible] [illegible] static [illegible] when a [illegible] foe was rapidly advancing [illegible] a few kilometres away.

The *Gesta Francorum*'s reference to Fatimid troops, each of them [illegible] suggests that even under these [illegible] had enough time to prepare for a long [illegible]. Other Crusader [illegible] such preparations were taken, as Raymond d'Aguilers' words [illegible] *the crack of dawn the [illegible] called to prepare ranks by the voice of a herald [illegible]. Thus [illegible] guards arranged on all sides [illegible]. The Arabs [illegible] their camp [illegible]*



Fragment of painted paper from the abandoned Cairo suburb of Fustat, showing two horsemen shaking hands above the carnage of battle, probably made in the 11th or early 12th century. (Keir Collection, London)

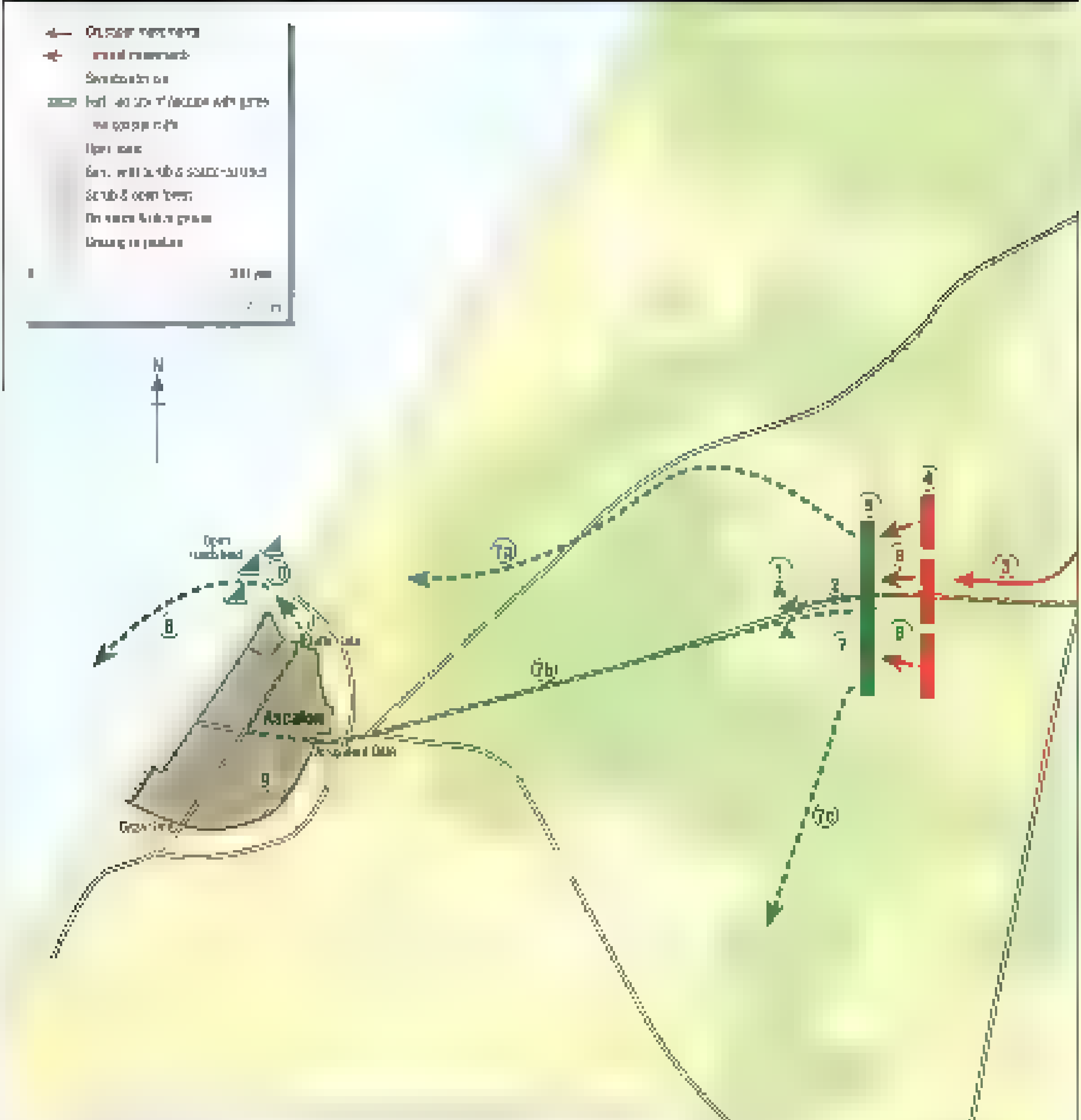
walls [Jerusalem]. *Reports had come to them of the slaughter and flight of the herders and it brought this response, 'The Franks came for booty and will now return.' They had daily reports on desertions from Jerusalem, the small size of our army, and the enfeebled state of our people and horses … We moved forwards in nine ranks … and God multiplied his army to the point that we seemed equal to the Arab forces. This miracle came when the animals we had freed formed herds, and without a directing hand followed us, stood when we stood, ran when we ran, and marched forward when we marched forward.*

The presence of these animal herds may not have been a case of dumb beasts preferring the company of Christians. It might be an unrecorded example of ex-Saljuq soldiers contributing to the Crusader tactics, since the driving of animals into enemy lines was common in earlier Islamic warfare. The only surviving letter from this period of the First Crusade was sent in September 1099 as an official account of the expedition and also described how herds of camels, cattle and sheep charged the enemy.

The host formed its battle array with Raymond of Toulouse on the right, Tancred, Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders in the centre, and Godfrey of Bouillon on the left, then attacked before the Fatimids had properly assembled. What happened next is hidden in the dust of those remarkable animal herds. Fulcher of Chartres indicated that Crusader infantry archers shot at advancing Fatimids before their own knights countercharged. This would suggest that Fatimid cavalry tried to slow the enemy attack because their own infantry was not ready to receive a charge. Any such pre-emptive stroke clearly failed and the Fatimid line, insofar as it yet existed, was broken. As Raymond d'Aguilers continued: *The Arabs, seeing the slaughter of many of their comrades and the eager and secure ransacking of their camp, gave up the fight and decided, 'Since we must flee, why delay?' … Consequently, with morale broken the Arabs with a few exceptions returned to Ascalon.*

The Fatimid left flank seemingly fell back to the coast, seeking refuge aboard ships moored in the roadstead but pursued by Raymond of Toulouse's division. When the Fatimid centre collapsed Tancred and Robert of Normandy took al-Afdal's camp. The Fatimid right wing probably fled south pursued by Godfrey of Bouillon. Fatimid troops who reportedly sought refuge in sycamore trees were probably from this right wing. They were smoked out or shot by arrows. However, it is possible these soldiers were attempting to hinder Crusader pursuit by establishing ambushes in thickets or close-cover, as described in a surviving Fatimid tactical manual. Muslim casualties were clearly high. According to Ibn al-Qalanisi: *About 10,000 foot soldiers, volunteers and people of the town were massacred, and the camp was plundered … It is said that the death toll amongst the*

BATTLE OF ASCALON, 12 AUGUST 1099



1 August – The Fatimid army under the Grand Vizier al-Afdal [illegible] west of Ascalon [illegible] to the Crusaders in Jerusalem
2 Fatimid [illegible] from Jerusalem
3 [illegible] August Crusaders [illegible], assemble their army at Ibna, then march south towards Ascalon [illegible]
From [illegible] August Crusaders make contact with Fatimid outposts and capture army's flocks near [illegible]
4 Early morning, 12 August: Crusader army forms for battle
5 Unprepared Fatimid [illegible]
6 Crusaders launch general assault before the Fatimids have properly deployed
[illegible]
7a Left flank [illegible] Raymond of Toulouse. Probably seeks refuge aboard Fatimid ships
7b [illegible] Robert of Normandy
7c Fatimid right [illegible] south pursued by Godfrey of Bouillon
8 Al-Afdal flees into Ascalon then returns to Egypt by sea
9 Raymond [illegible] leads to dissension within Crusader camp [illegible]. [illegible] withdraw northward. Ascalon does not surrender
10 Fatimid [illegible] probably moored [illegible] the open sandbed north of Ascalon. [illegible] may also have arrived on 12 August 1099

A collection of late 11th-century Palestinian Arab jewellery that was buried in a vault in Ascalon as the Crusader hordes approached in AD1099.

people of Ascalon, including witnesses, men of sufficient status to carry weight *in a law court, residents, prosperous citizens, tradesmen and* ahdath *militia formations, reached 2,700, quite apart from the* ajnad garrison *of the city.*

The Fatimid Grand Vizier fled into Ascalon with his *troops* or staff but the sources disagree whether he immediately withdrew to Cairo, leaving the local leadership to negotiate a surrender, or himself conducted preliminary talks. At this point one of the previously captured Saljuq soldiers emerges from the shadows of history. Raymond d'Aguilers wrote this story: *Raymond decided to send Bohemond, a Turk, to the men of al-Afdal with a plan for peace and also to remind him that he had been reluctant to free Jerusalem and had fought against us. Bohemond was, at the same time, to observe the situation and to see whether the army of al-Afdal was ready to flee or to fight, and how he reacted to his defeat. Bohemond, though a Turk, spoke several languages, was clever and shrewd as well as loyal to us. He was called Bohemond because the great Bohemond of Taranto received him at the baptismal font when he turned apostate and came to us with his wife and weapons.*

Other versions suggest that Iftikhar al-Dawla, as governor of Ascalon, prepared to surrender the city but then recognised the deepening divisions amongst his Crusader opponents. Apparently he was willing to surrender to Raymond of Toulouse but not to other Crusader leaders who were seen as responsible for massacring the population of Jerusalem. Raymond had also negotiated Iftikhar al-Dawla's surrender of Jerusalem, where he kept his word by allowing the governor and his men to reach Ascalon safely. However, this insistence caused dissension in the Crusader camp. As a result Raymond and the two Roberts withdrew northwards and the surrender of Ascalon never actually took place.

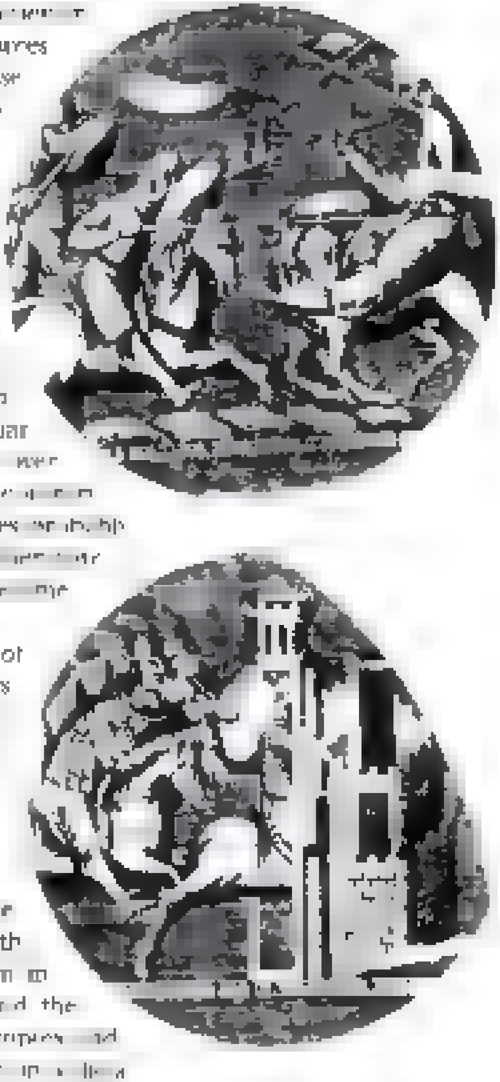
THE AFTERMATH

The success of the First Crusade [illegible] superior numbers and cohesion while the failure of Islamic forces was due to the fragmented and uncoordinated response of their rulers. The only real exception to this scenario was the Crusaders' remarkable defeat of Kür-Bugha's alliance outside Antioch. Here however a large part of the Islamic army abandoned the field as a result of a decision to deny Kür-Bugha a victory that could have made him too powerful. The Crusaders almost invariably demonstrated greater motivation than appeared in their foes, as be[illegible] There is [illegible] European Crusaders enjoyed technological or tactical superiority. In fact the reverse seems more likely to have been the case. Even where warhorses were concerned the popular image of European knights on larger horses has [illegible] [illegible] bigger horses than those [illegible] the Crusaders had [illegible] all [illegible] they reached Jerusalem.

Almost immediately after the First Crusade's defeat of the Fatimid army outside Ascalon, the majority of Crusaders started returning home. Most travelled overland to northern Syria before taking ship [illegible] dominated the coasts of Palestine and Lebanon. Eventually no more than 300 or so knights and an unknown number of infantry stayed to defend Jerusalem, Ramlah and Haifa: the nucleus of the future Kingdom of Jerusalem.

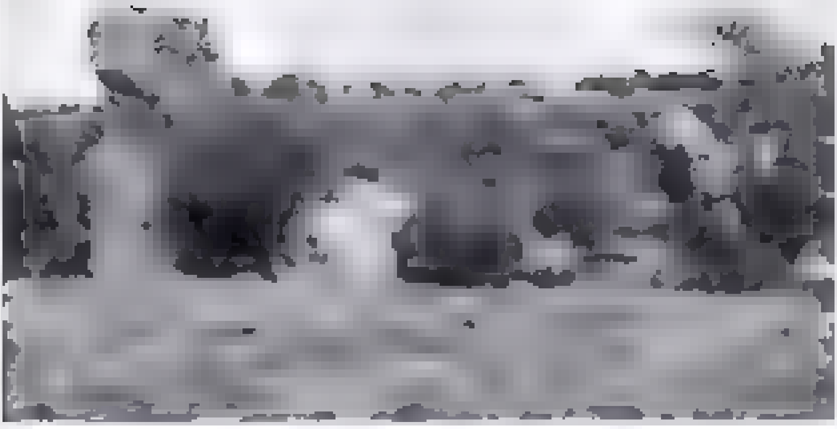
[illegible] States [illegible] from the County of Edessa and Principality of Antioch in the north through the County of Tripoli to the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the south. [illegible] and the [illegible] between [illegible]

[illegible] a few hundred [illegible] Holy Sepulchre [illegible] gates and towers. Mo[illegible] [illegible] Crusaders while the Muslims [illegible] the Blessed [illegible] Crusader Order [illegible] further [illegible]



Two of the lost 12th-century stained-glass windows in St Denis, Paris, illustrated the defeat of the Fatimid army outside Ascalon. A: Battle outside Ascalon. B: Fatimids flee into Ascalon.

Part of the ramparts, wall and towers that surrounded Ascalon.



[illegible] northeastern corner of the city.

[illegible] reached Jaffa in late June [illegible]

[illegible] Turks would, ultimately, triumph.

[illegible]

[illegible]

St George attacking the infidels while Crusaders pray on the other side. This Anglo-Norman carving probably illustrates the conquest of Antioch or the defeat of Kür-Bugha's army. (In situ parish church, Fordington; author's photograph)

In several [illegible] Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox Christians in [illegible] hatred [illegible] of the Latin Catholic western European [illegible] In contrast the Maronite Christians of Lebanon [illegible] common cause with the Catholic Crusaders and became their allies.

A [illegible] Jewish [illegible] the Jews of the Middle East [illegible] the same serious consequences [illegible] Not surprisingly [illegible] towards the Egypt [illegible] Cairo [illegible] there was [illegible] suffering [illegible] a surviving letter found in the Cairo Geniza some years ago. This informed us that among those who *were ransomed from the Franks and remained in Ascalon, some are in danger of dying [illegible] Others remained in captivity [illegible] were killed before the eyes of the rest who were themselves killed afterwards with all manner of torture in order to give vent to* the enemy's *anger on them.*

Later the same letter added: *Now amongst those who have reached safety* [in Cairo], *are some who escaped on the second and third days following the battle and left with the governor who was granted safe conduct. And others who, after having been caught by the Franks, remained in their hands for some time and escaped in the end. these are but few. The majority consists of those who were ransomed. To our sorrow some of them ended their lives under all kinds of suffering and affliction.*

There are also interesting references to Jews being captured by the Crusaders at Antioch the previous year. Many Jews fled to Ascalon and the Ascalon community survived until the city fell to the Crusaders in 1153. The Jews of Ascalon and Egypt also ransomed many books looted by the Crusaders when they took Jerusalem.

'The Emperor Alexios I presenting the Panoplia dogmatike to Christ' in a 12th-century Byzantine manuscript. (Panoplia dogmatike, Cod. 666, f. 2r, Vatican Library, Rome)

Reactions to the Crusader conquests varied in different parts of the Islamic world. In Anatolia

The threat from Crusader Antioch in the south and Byzantine reconquest in the east led to a short-lived reconciliation between Qilich Arslan and the Danishmandids, resulting in the defeat of a Crusade in 1100–02. Despite widespread apathy in the eastern parts of the Great Saljuq Sultanate, some Islamic scholars tried to rally support for an effort to drive out the invaders. Poets also bemoaned the lack of response to these awful events. An Iraqi named Abu'l-Muzaffar al-Abiwardi urged his companions to help their Syrian and Palestinian brothers.

Dare you slumber in the blessed shade of safety, where life is as soft as an
orchard flower?
How can you sleep in a time of disasters that would waken any sleeper?
While your Syrian brothers can only sleep on the backs of their warhorses, or
in the bellies of vultures!

Syrian attitudes to the First Crusade are similarly reflected in a poem by Ibn al-Khayyat after the fall of Jerusalem:

How long will this go on?
For the polytheists have overflowed like a flood, so great that even the sea
fears it.
Armies like mountains, have stormed out of the land of the Franks, to bring
about our destruction.
How many young women have started to beat their throats and cheeks in
fear,
And mothers of young girls who have not yet known the heat of day, nor
suffered cold at night?
They are almost wasting away from fear and dying from sadness and
painful worry.

The success of the First Crusade has sometimes been blamed on the fragmentation of the Great Saljuq Sultanate, yet the Sultanate was not collapsing in 1098–99. It might be more true to say that the First Crusade contributed to Great Saljuq decline. Kur-Bugha's defeat and loss of such prestige and military power may in fact have ended the last chance of restoring the Great Saljuq state.

It took a long time to cultivate a counter-*jihad* to mirror the enthusiasm of the Crusade. Nevertheless, there was widespread outrage because this invasion was so different from previous 'civilised' wars between Byzantines and Muslims. Eventually there was a Sunni Muslim revival that resulted in a hardening of attitudes to non-Muslims. It was also characterised by less tolerance of Shi'a Muslims and any who were seen as unorthodox or heretical.

The impact of the Crusade was less immediate for the Fatimid Caliphate. In addition to the Jews of Jerusalem, much of the Arab Islamic elite of Palestine migrated to Ascalon after the First Crusade. The greatest fear amongst these Muslims was that their women would fall into the hands of these uncivilised westerners. In immediate military terms the impact of al-Afdal's defeat was a thorough reform of the Fatimid army. He also placed one of his own sons in command of Fatimid forces in Palestine. Perhaps this was when the previous governor Iftikhar al-Dawla left Fatimid service and maybe moved to the castle of Abu Qubays in northern Syria.

THE BATTLEFIELDS TODAY*

[illegible] Lebanon and most of what is now Israel.

[illegible] unbalanced understanding of the episode as a whole.

[illegible] *dolmus* shared taxis [illegible] unfortunately the correct size of the so-called [illegible] delight.

[illegible]

Seated Islamic prince holding a cup, on a fragment of woollen textile, probably from 11th-century Egypt. (Textile Museum, Washington; author's photograph)

[illegible]

The early medieval church of Shimun al-Safa in Mosul, in northern Iraq. (Author's photograph)

challenging stretch of the route can be rewarding, though only after ensuring a proper [illegible] and some distance down the other side of the pass.

Travelling in Syria, either with one's own car or one hired locally, is much easier than driving in some parts of southeastern Turkey. The same is, or was, the case in Iraq. Here the roads may appear relatively few but they are generally modern and well maintained. Small, friendly and cheap local hotels are similarly abundant in Syria, though less so in northern Iraq. There are also plenty of local eating places, though these are neither as abundant nor as varied as in Turkey. Following the routes taken by various Crusader campaigns and those of their Islamic opponents is easier in Syria because these operations took place in the most populated and urbanised regions of the west and north. The battles and sieges took place in these same areas.

The Crusaders marched down the coast of Lebanon, along a route that is now open to tourists, the only major obstacle being the closed border between Lebanon and Israel. Today even the region immediately north of this frontier, which was ravaged by Israeli invasions and occupation, is opening to visitors. The current situation in what was Palestine (and now consists of Israel proper plus the occupied Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip) is very different. Communications would normally be good and hotels adequate, if rather few and far between in some areas. However, the present situation makes following in the footsteps of the Crusaders and their foes difficult and sometimes impossible.

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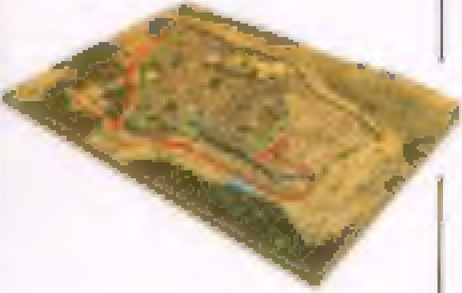

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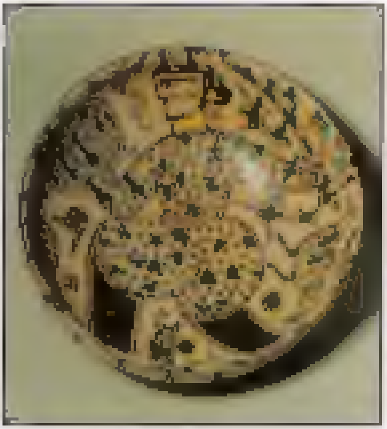

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